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St. Joseph's College,
Toronto

THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

M. TULLIUS CICERO.

28✓

BY THE SAME EDITOR.

BACCHAE of EURIPIDES. London: Longmans & Co., 1871.

MILES GLORIOSUS OF PLAUTUS. London: Macmillan & Co., (1st ed., 1881; 2nd ed., 1885.)

TROADES of EURIPIDES. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1882. (1st ed., 1881; 2nd ed., 1884.)

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THE CORRESPONDENCE OF M. TULLIUS CICERO. Vol. I. London: Longmans & Co. (1st ed., 1881; 2nd ed., 1885.)

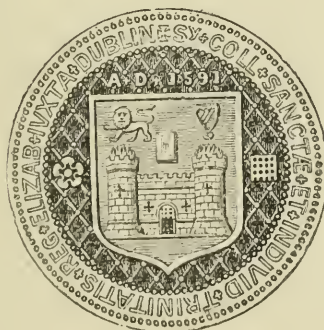
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THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
M. TULLIUS CICERO,
ARRANGED ACCORDING TO ITS CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER;
WITH
A REVISION OF THE TEXT, A COMMENTARY,
AND
INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS.

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PREFACE.

It will be generally admitted that the most important duty of an editor is first, to endeavour to find out what his author has said, and next, what he meant by it. In order to accomplish the first duty satisfactorily, he must have an adequate *apparatus criticus* for the recension of the text, and he must be thoroughly conversant with the manner and style of his author. Nor can he rightly achieve his other chief aim, the explanation of the text, without commenting pretty largely on the diction and style of the classic on whom he is engaged, and often adverting to the public history, as well as the private social conditions, of the period in which the work edited was written.

This is no light task; and I am conscious of many defects in the way in which I have tried to accomplish it. Indeed, I doubt if this volume would ever have seen the light but for the invaluable assistance which my friend and colleague, Mr. L. C. Purser, has given me, and the unfailing interest which he has taken in the project of editing the whole correspondence of Cicero. The next volumes will appear as the joint work of us both, and will, I hope, succeed the present volume at a much shorter interval than that which has separated the first volume from the second.

I hope I have not neglected to comment on the latinity of these letters whenever comment is needed, or to provide the reader

with information (or at least guide him to the source of it) when obscure points in archæology or history arise. But the editor of so large a work as the Correspondence of Cicero must confine his efforts mainly to the settling and explaining of the text, so far as he is able, and cannot go far afield to discuss questions either of grammar or antiquities, which, however interesting and important in themselves, are not directly connected with the correction and interpretation of his author.

The chief bid which this edition makes for the attention of scholars is the fact that it is the first edition of the letters of Cicero, or of any part of them, which has been able to make use of the *codex Turonensis* and *codices Harleiani* for the recension of the text. These are described in the Introduction to vol. I² (p. 74 ff.), and Mr. Purser has given much fuller details about the Harleian *codices* in the Introduction to the present volume. The first volume comprised only twelve letters *ad Familiares*, and those neither long nor very noteworthy. Now H and T have only the letters *ad Familiares*, and, therefore, their influence was hardly felt in a volume consisting almost solely of letters to Atticus and Quintus. In this volume the case is very different. In it appear some fifty letters *ad Fam.*, and among them the long and most important letter (Fam. i. 9) to Lentulus, in which Cicero vindicates his attitude towards the Optimates and the Triumvirs in the period succeeding his return from exile. On these letters I have carefully recorded the readings of T and H in my *Adnotatio Critica*. Both in their agreements with M and their divergences from that *codex* they add immensely to our *data* for the construction of a sound text. I have already pointed out how, on Fam. v. 5, 3 (Ep. xviii.) T presents the true reading, which had already been conjectured, and the critical notes of the present volume will show in how many cases the discovery of a new *codex* vindicates the critical sagacity of ancient and modern scholars. Still more interesting are the new and certain readings presented by H or T,

as, for instance, *Cinneis* for the unmeaning *meis* of M in Ep. cliii. (Fam. i. 9, 11).

With these materials at my disposal I have made the recension of the text my chief object, and I hope I have omitted no source of light on this part of my work. Wesenberg I regard as the acutest modern critic of Cicero's letters, though he is sometimes almost rivalled by the ingenuity of Boot. In Madvig's criticisms on the letters one seems to miss that marvellous insight into the diction of Cicero which guides him almost infallibly in his observations on the philosophical works. I have carefully weighed all the judgments of these and other eminent critics, such as Hofmann, Baiter, Klotz, and others, and I have followed, so far as I could, the floating criticism in German programmes and reviews. Lehmann, whose certain conjecture of *infimo* for *infima* on Att. iv. 1, 5, I found in a review of Hofmann's Select Letters in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, has just published a tract on the letters. I have mentioned in this Preface (pp. xvii. ff.) some of his most interesting conclusions.

I have adhered, I believe, more closely than any other editor to the tradition of the mss. In a list subjoined to the Preface of new readings accepted or approved of in this edition it will be observed, that in many cases these are ms readings vindicated against the conjectures which have ousted them since the revival of letters. New readings of this class I have distinguished from the others in the list by printing them in small capitals in the penultimate column of the Table. I hold that the first duty of an editor is to see that the ms tradition is not put aside, unless it is quite clear that it is wrong, and cannot be reasonably defended. His next duty is to keep as close as he can to the mss when he is obliged to desert them, and never to put forward a conjecture without a theory to account for the corruption. For instance, according to all the editions, in Att. iv. 16, 7 (Ep. cxliv.), Cicero tells Atticus how he hears from Caesar that the approaches to

Britain are *munitos mirificis molibus*. But how comes it that the mss give with one consent *miratos*, not *munitos*? Editors attempt no answer to this question, but go on printing *munitos* in each successive edition. The word is, of course, very appropriate; but why did the copyists corrupt such a common and easy word into *miratos*? I read *muratos*, an excellent word, though it does not occur in extant Latin (so far as I know) until the verb is used by Vegetius. There is no reason why a word not found in formal compositions should not be very appropriate in a letter to an intimate friend. Might not one friend now write to another ‘I believe the approaches to the country are actually *ramparted* with huge cliffs’? Moreover, if we read *muratos* the corruption is easily accounted for. The best copyists—by which I mean those who do not take on themselves the functions of an editor—on meeting an unfamiliar word almost invariably write down, instead of it, that common word which most closely resembles it in form, without in the least troubling themselves about the meaning of the sentence. To illustrate this one has only to glance over the critical notes in any edition. For instance, *cum graviter aegrum Issi reliquissem* (Att. vi. 7, 2) is in M *cum graviter aegrum esse reliquissem*, while in *codices* of inferior authority to M the copyist assumes the part of an editor, and omits *esse* altogether. It was the utterly unmeaning *esse* of the ignorant, but ingenuous, copyist of M which led Manutius to his brilliant restoration of *Issi*. So in Att. ii. 7, 3, *ieiuna tabellari legatio*, a phrase puzzling at first sight, appears in M as *ieiunata bella relegatio*, which is as unmeaning as *miratos* in the passage where I would restore *muratos*. Again, in Q. Fr. ii. 10 (12), 1 (Ep. cxxxiii.), I read *pipulo convicio* for *populi convicio*, which I hold to be without meaning, because a copyist meeting such a rare word as *pipulo* would without fail write *populo*, which the next copyist would change to *populi*, in order to obtain a construction. Yet some scholars will acquiesce in any reading, however absurd, which has escaped through the

very wide reticulations of the sieve of early scholarship. Now, every careful reader of the letters of Cicero will observe that the great pioneers of Latin literature, Manutius, Lambinus, Malaspina, sometimes seem satisfied with very puerile explanations (as, for instance, in Ep. cxxxiii. 1), and so acquiesce in a palpable blunder of the copyist: while perhaps in the next note they will astonish us with some marvel of learning and ingenuity, such as Malaspina's *nostra Urania* for *non curantia* of M, on Q. Fr. ii. 7 (9), 1 (Ep. cxx.). When scholarship was in its sturdy youth it had not only the vigour but the simplicity of adolescence. The early scholars stubbed up the stones which encumbered the field of literature, but left to us a weed here and there to remove.

What I have said about the principles which should guide an editor in deciding, for instance, between *muratos* and *munitos*, when the mss give *miratos*, an obviously corrupt word, I hold to be doubly applicable when the question is, whether the ms reading is beyond reasonable doubt corrupt. No conjecture has any right to claim a place in the text until the editor is satisfied, either on grounds of language, in which case the falseness of the ms reading may be absolutely certain, or on grounds of taste, where the case against the ms reading may be very weak, or may possibly amount almost to certainty, that the ms reading cannot represent the words of the classic author; while at the same time he perceives, and can show, how the copyist was betrayed into the false lection. For instance, in Att. iv. 1, 5 (Ep. xc.), all editions up to the present give with M *gradus templorum ab infima plebe completi erant*. But why would Cicero, in portraying the glories of his reception, write that 'the steps of the temples were crowded with the lowest rabble'? And would he have used *ab* before *plebe*? Is it not certain that Cicero wrote, as Lehmann suggests, *ab infimo*, 'from the very bottom'? The higher steps, as affording a better view, would be occupied first. The denseness of the throng would be brought vividly before the mind of Atticus by telling him that

even the vantage given by the lowest steps was easily seized upon. And nine out of ten copyists, meeting with a not very common (though quite unassailable) phrase in *ab infimo*, would, without hesitation, assimilate the gender to *plebe*, to which *infima* seems a very suitable epithet at first sight; and it seems hardly too much to say that the copyists never looked at a sentence twice. Yet there will be found, I have no doubt, critics who will urge, 'why change *infima* of the ms, which at least yields a possible sense?' Yet the same critics will not hesitate to read *illi*, or *homini*, or *id ei* for *tibi* of the ms in Ep. xci. 4, though *tibi* is there abundantly defensible, and, as I think, curiously characteristic of the diction of Cicero's letters. So in cvii. 2 they will read *ludum* for *locum* of the mss, though *ludum* cannot bear the meaning there assigned to it, and Bosius has pointed out that *λόχον*, which he would read, and which affords a perfect sense, is in effect the reading of the ms. For it seems well-nigh certain that the archetype, or some ms between the archetype and M, transcribed Cicero's Greek words in Latin characters. In the passage, therefore, now under consideration the copyist of M might have found *locon*, that is *λόχον*, and would then almost certainly have written *locum*. Again, in cx. 2 some editors, even after Kayser's complete explanation of the ms reading *ferrei*, will persist in changing it to *servi*, or *miserrimi*, or some other word which is neither more nor less probable than half-a-dozen others. In cases like this is it not more scientific to obelise the ms reading, in default of an explanation? This, I think, should always be the course taken by an editor, unless he has a theory to account for the corruption. Now what copyist, finding *servi* or *miserrimi*, both giving an obvious sense, would have altered it to *ferrei*, which has an excellent meaning, but one which has eluded the perspicacity of commentators till Kayser?

The passage to which I have just referred shows how closely intertwined are the problems of criticism and explanation. But in

some cases which do not involve any critical question the interpretation is perverted by an unjustified assumption, or a too hasty decision. An instance of this kind may be found on Att. iv. 3, 3 (Ep. xcii.), where *omnes Catilinas Acidinos postea reddidit* used to be explained 'he reproduced in his excesses every Catiline and Acidinus in history.' Now there is good testimony that Cicero regarded Acidinus as a highly respectable man. Hence we cannot refuse to explain with Boot: 'he made every ruffian like Catiline seem henceforth an Acidinus' (as contrasted with his own greater atrocities). On xciv. 2 inattention to Cicero's use of *alterum* . . . *alterum* has led to an erroneous interpretation. In ex. 2, and exx. 1, hasty interpretations have further confused the tangled skein (σκυλόμιν) of Cicero's politics during the years 699 (55) and 700 (54).

The following are a few other places on which I have been bold enough to put forward new explanations, not being able to accept the interpretations given in other editions:—

exxii. 1: I have given to *iactans* a meaning, 'pooh-poohing,' which, though not recognised by the Diett., seems certainly to belong to the word, and to be very suitable to the context.

exxxi. 1: on this passage I have given for the words at the end of the letter, *ut summum periculum esset ne Appio suae aedes urerentur*, an explanation which does not appear in any of the editions, but which, I am sure, must have suggested itself to many readers of the letter, so childish is the interpretation of Manutius, which, however, has been accepted, in default of a better, by Schütz and Billerbeck.

exlix. 2: I cannot understand why the commentators with one consent explain *inductis* as 'cancelled.' Is it because 'to cancel' is a more *recherché* meaning of *inducere*? But does not *inducere* mean 'to enter' in a document, and is not that meaning perfectly appropriate here, while 'to cancel' can hardly be reconciled in any way with the purport of the whole passage?

Ep. cxlix. 3: At senatus decernit UT TACITUM IUDICIUM ANTE COMITIA FIERET AB IIS CONSILIIS QUAE TERANT OMNIBUS† SORTITA IN SINGULOS CANDIDATOS. The obelised words should probably be corrected to *essent ex omni S.* (= *senatu*). I have restored *decernit* of the mss. I suppose the reason why the edd. have changed it to *decrevit* is because it is followed by *fieret*, not *fiat*; but see Roby, ii. 1511. The historical present is, in its effect on the verbs directly or indirectly dependent, sometimes regarded as a primary, sometimes as a secondary tense: a good example is 2 Verr. i. 65, *rogat Rubrium ut quos ei commodum sit INVITET*; but *ibid.* 66, *fit . . . invitatio ut Graeco more BIBERETUR . . . et simul servis suis Rubrius ut ianuam CLAUDERENT et ipsi ad fores ADSISTERENT imperat*. The *erant* in the text should have been included within the *obeli* which enclose *omnibus*. The reading *decrevit* for *decernit* has led to another departure from the ms in the words *res cedit*, which follow shortly after, where Klotz reads *res sedit*, which seems to me to be quite devoid of meaning. Yet Baiter is more inconsistent in preserving *cedit* the historical present, here, and changing *decernit* to *decrevit* above. Historical presents are often found side by side with perfects.

cliii. 2: I venture to think that in the words *ille perennis inimicus amicorum suorum* Cicero refers to no less a person than Pompeius.

cliv. 3: I have called the attention of classical scholars to the fact that there is no satisfactory theory to explain why *foris esse* means 'to be bankrupt,' though this is stated to be the meaning of the phrase; and to the strange circumstance, that this phrase, which wears all the appearance of a slang term, 'to be out at elbows,' does not appear in the extant comic drama, or anywhere, except in two passages of Cicero, and in those two passages it is applied to the same man, Gabinius.*

* See p. xxi., where it is further shown that *foris esse* has not been explained satisfactorily.

clxxxii. 3 : I have proposed to give to the word *emissarius* a meaning not recognised by the Dictt.

The present instalment of the Correspondence of Cicero is very interesting, but very difficult. These letters—those to Quintus especially, which are concluded in this volume—present here and there riddles which have hitherto defied the perspicacity of commentators, and are likely to do so still. Those who seek a field for the exercise of their ingenuity will find it in *araysira*, cxxiii. 3 ; *risi nivem atram*, cxxxv. 1 ; *συνδείπνους Σοφοκλέους*, cxlvii. 3 ; *ΟΥΣΟΙΜΠΙΣΑΜΑΦΙΗΙ*, cliv. 4.

I would here repeat my acknowledgments to those authors and editors to whom I owed my indebtedness in the Preface to the first volume, 1st and 2nd edd. In the Introduction I owe very much to M. Gaston Boissier, whose clearness of view and of style throw great light on Cicero and his friends.

A reviewer of the first volume of this work in the *Times* (Aug. 16, 1880) suggested that something more should have been said about the *data* for arranging the order of the letters, adding, that in the volumes succeeding the first greater difficulties would meet the editor in this part of his task. This is quite true. And I regret that it was only about a month ago, when the whole of the text was printed, that a most careful monograph* on the order of the letters, from the restoration of Cicero to the end of the year 700 (54), by Dr. Koerner, was published in Leipsic. In my edition I have mainly followed the order adopted by Gruber and most editors. Here and there I have made a transposition, suggested by the admirable editions of Wesenberg and Baiter. Letters which furnish no clue whatever to the time of their com-

* De epistulis a Cicerone post reditum usque ad finem anni A. V. C. 700 datis questiones chronologicae. A. Koerner, Dr. Phil., Lipsiae, 1885.

position I have given as they stand in the complete editions of Schütz and of Billerbeck. These are marked *incerto anno* in every edition, and it is convenient that they should retain the place in the Correspondence which they originally got chiefly by chance, or because they must stand somewhere. I have for this reason given Fam. vii. 23 in its usual place, immediately before Fam. vii. 1, as I do not see that there are any data for determining the date of the letter, though Wes. describes it as *scr. ante obitum Tulliae et post initium belli civilis, fortasse A. U. C. 708*. Since the appearance of Gruber's work there have been monographs on the order of the letters in certain years, but no attempt to deal with the chronology of the Correspondence as a whole. W. Steinkopf,* Schmidt,† and others,‡ have dealt with particular epochs in the Correspondence, and Dr. Koerner has followed their example and method in his tract on the letters of the years 697–700 (57–54).

As Dr. Koerner's tract comes to me thus too late to affect the sequence of letters adopted in my edition, perhaps I should do well to notice the places in which he makes any decided innovation in the order, and to consider how far he seems justified.

It will be observed that the divergence in the order of letters is not considerable, except in a few cases. And what I shall have to say about these cases will, perhaps, inspire the reader with some confidence in the old arrangement, which has really not been largely modified by Koerner, and perhaps has in some cases been altered on insufficient grounds. Dr. Koerner sometimes departs from the received order for reasons which, as he himself admits,

* *Quaestiones chronologicae de rebus a Cicerone inde a tradita Cilicia provincia usque ad relictam Italiam gestis deque epistulis intra illud tempus (704, 705) datis acceptisve*, Marburg, 1884.

† *De epistulis et a Cassio et ad Cassium post Caesarem occisum datis quaestiones chronologicae*, Leipsic, 1877.

‡ Several interesting questions with regard to the chronology of the letters are discussed by L. Moll, *De temporibus Epist. Tullianarum quaestiones selectae*: Berlin, 1883.

afford only the faintest presumption in favour of the change. This is a quite justifiable course in a tract. But I think if he were editing the Correspondence he would in these cases himself preserve the old order, for he justly observes (p. 13), *traditum ordinem si possit servari esse servandum*.

He holds that Fam. i. 1-4 should not be treated as four letters, but as one, written all on the same day, but at different times in the day (xvi. Kal. Feb.).

He dissents from Gruber, who places Fam. i. 6 before Fam. i. 5 b. I had adopted in my edition the order of which Koerner approves.

Q. Fr. ii. 3: he thinks that the words *cetera sunt in rebus nostris huius modi* to the end are a fragment of another letter.

Q. Fr. ii. 5 he divides into two letters, one written on the 7th or 8th of April, the other on the 11th. Between them he places the letter to Luceius (Fam. v. 12), which he thinks may have been written on April 9th or 10th.

Att. iv. 8 b he ascribes to the end of 698, and with him are Wesenberg, Gruber, and Baiter. Possibly they are right. I have followed Orelli and Wieland in placing it in the beginning of 699 (55), but I have indicated a doubt in the heading of the letter.

Fam. i. 8 he ascribes to the end of 698 (56), not the beginning of 699 (55), where it is placed by Gruber, Baiter, and Wesenberg. I think it will hardly be held that he has a sufficient reason for this change. His only reason for supposing that Fam. i. 8 was written in the end of 698 (56), not in the beginning of 699 (55), is that, after Pompeius had been actually elected consul Cicero would not have used the words *eo tu consule . . . omnia quae voles obtinebis*, but rather would have written *cum is sit consul*.

Fam. v. 8, a letter to Crassus, I have placed first among the letters of 700 (54). Gruber, Süpfle, Baiter, and Wesenberg believe that it was written in January. Koerner relegates it to the end of August. As he begins his *quaestio* on the letter with the words

epistula in numero earum habetur de quibus certi quicquam vix dici posse videtur, I think he must be here held guilty of violation of his own cautious canon, which I have quoted.

Att. iv. 16 is, through a misconception, misplaced in my edition. It should be Ep. cxlii., not cxliv. The proper order is, not Q. Fr. ii. 14, Att. iv. 15, Att. iv. 16, as in my edition; but Att. iv. 16, Q. Fr. ii. 14, Att. iv. 15, all written in July, 700. After these letters Koerner would place Fam. vii. 8, which he thinks was written in the end of July. Gruber, Baiter, and Wesenberg, whom I follow, place it in June. Q. Fr. ii. 14 and Att. iv. 15 were apparently written on the same day.

Fam. i. 9, the longest and most celebrated of the letters to Lentulus, is supposed by Gruber, Süpfle, Baiter, and Wesenberg, to have been written in the end of October, 700. Koerner makes it later by fully six weeks, putting it about the Ides of December. He begins by pointing out that this letter is in answer to one from Lentulus, in which the latter had asked why he had defended Vatinius. The trial of Vatinius, he argues, took place in the end of August. So there must have been time for Lentulus to hear in Cilicia the news from Rome, and then to write to Cicero a letter about it. This, Koerner holds, demands a space of about 100 days, which he thinks would be required for the conveyance of intelligence from Rome to Cilicia, and back again to Rome. These 100 days from the end of August would bring us into December; Cicero would have occupied some days in the composition of so long and elaborate a letter as Fam. i. 9; and we learn from § 26 that another letter arrived from Lentulus after Cicero's reply had been written. Now, Lentulus would not have written a second letter immediately after the first.

Such are the arguments of Koerner for changing the place of this celebrated letter in the Correspondence. To me they seem full of assumptions. I cannot believe that the governor of Cilicia would have been obliged to wait more than three months for an

answer from Rome to his letter. We read, Ep. cxlviii. § 13 (Q. Fr. iii. 1), that it took only a few days more than a month for a letter to come from Britain to Rome, *quarta epistola mihi reddita est Id. Sept. quam a. d. iiii. Id. Sext. ex Britannia dederas*. The arguments of Koerner certainly would not have induced me to change the place of this letter had they reached me in time to be used by me in my text. Perhaps, however, they will have more weight with others, and minute considerations, such as he has appealed to, may in time be used to largely modify the order of the letters.

I have just received Lehmann's *Quaestiones Tullianae*. It is a pamphlet of 136 pages, showing a masterly knowledge of the diction of Cicero's letters. It is the forerunner of a complete edition of the letters, which ought to be very valuable. I append here some of the most interesting of his criticisms on the letters embraced in my first two volumes.

xxv. (Att. i. 19, 8), *me unum* ut omnes illi colant = *me maxime* colant; cp. *unum* ('singularly') *limatum*, Nat. Deor. 74. So in Q. Fr. ii. 4, 5 (cv.), *Racilius qui unus est hoc tempore tribunus pl.* the word *unus* means 'of singular excellence.' Cp. also Egnatio *uno* equite Romano vel familiarissime utor, Fam. xiii. 45; *hanc unam* domum, 'this house above all others,' De dom. 143.

xxvi. (Att. i. 20, 4), *nemo est enim iam qui queratur*. He reads with M *nemo est enim, idem qui queratur*, comparing Q. Fr. i. 2, 13, *idem ut facias*.

xxvii. (Att. ii. 1, 5), *cum in Sicilia aedilitatem se petere dictitasset*. L. defends *hereditatem* of M¹, comparing Att. i. 16, 10, *ille autem Regis hereditatem spe devorarat*. He observes that it is *inconstantia* with which Clodius is here taunted, and this is suitable, '*cum is qui ad plebem transibat hereditatum ius relinqueret*' (de domo § 35).

XXXI. (Att. ii. 4, 2), *velim† Syrpie condicione*. L. conjectures *velim ipse pari condicione*.

LIII. (Q. Fr. i. 2, 1), *expectationem sui*. The conjecture of Schütz, *sui* for *tui*, is unnecessary. What the mob wanted to see was how *Quintus* would behave to Statius in leaving the province.

LXVI. (Q. Fr. i. 3, 4), *acerbius miseriusre videtur*. He refuses to insert the *re*, proving by a number of examples that asyndeton, especially between two words, is characteristic of the letters, as also of all archaic and familiar Latin, especially the language of the comic stage. This I have pointed out in my notes, and I am glad to find that the same feature in the letters has struck so acute and judicious an observer as Lehmann.

XCI. (Att. iv. 2, 2), *dolor rei et magnitudo*. He proposes *dolor et magnitudo odii*, comparing *odii magnitudo*, Deiot. 30; *magnitudo et vis amoris mei*, Fam. ii. 7, 2.

CIII. (Fam. i. 5*b*, 1), *nimum magno silentio est accusatus*. L. thinks that Cicero could not have meant that the attention given to Cato's speech was more than it deserved. He would therefore read *omnium* for *nimum*, with Lambinus.

CIX. (Fam. v. 12, 8), *neque enim fas esse arbitror quidquam me rogantem abs te non impetrare*. He inserts *non impedito* after *abs te*.

CXII. (Att. iv. 8*a*, 1), *hoc scito Antium Buthrotum esse Romae ut Coreyrae illud tuum*. After *illud tuum* L. would insert *Antium* again: 'let me tell you Antium is Rome's Buthrotum, as your Buthrotum is Coreyra's Antium.'

CXII. (Att. iv. 8*a*, 2), *illustrarunt*. Vale. Tu scribas. The mss give *illustrarunt valde et scribas*. L. reads *illustrarunt*. *Valde laudo*. Et scribas. He compares *eos velim laudes*, Att. iv. 5, 3 and *valde laudo*, Fam. xii. 30, 7, and elsewhere.

CXVII. (Q. Fr. ii. 6, 2), *cenabis cum veneris*. He inserts *nobiscum* before *cum*.

CXXIV. (Att. iv. 11, 1), Romam esse statim venturos. The mss give *et se* for *esse*; hence L. suggests *eum et se*. In Fam. xi. 20, 1, in a letter to Cicero, D. Brutus uses the words *neque Caesar neque ego*: Cicero, in his reply, writes *tu et Caesar*.

CXXXVII. (Fam. vii. 7, 2), *Habes imperatoreim*. L. would rather insert *invenisti*, comparing for the use of the word Fin. i. 27, pro Quinct. 72, pro Flacc. 72.

CXLVIII. (Q. Fr. iii. 1, 8). He reads *curamus* for *curemus*. It certainly greatly simplifies the passage to make this change, and copyists are very prone to assimilate a verb in mood or tense to foregoing verbs.

CLIII. (Fam. i. 9, 16), referente consule. He proposes *te ferente consule*, for we read (Sest. 35) that it was Lentulus who moved the bill.

CLIII. (Fam. i. 9, 18), nec persuadendo nec nisi cogendo. The mss omit *nisi*. L. suggests *nec persuadendo et cogendo*, 'not by persuasion, and only by force.' For this use of *neque . . . et*, coupling words of opposite meaning, he cites *nec claudicans . . . et aequaliter . . . ingrediens*, Orator 198 'where he repudiates *sed* for *et*'); nec omnia spernentes . . . et . . . amplificantes, Fam. v. 72.

CLIII. (Fam. i. 9, 21), ut in navigando tempestati obsequi artis est etiam si portum tenere non queas. Lehmann modestly confesses that he does not know much about sailing a boat, but would either read *est tum* for *est etiam*, or would punctuate *artis est etiam, si portum tenere non queas*.

CLV. (Q. Fr. iii. 5 and 6, 1), in illis nostris libris qui essent de ratione dicendi. He defends *quod esset* of the ms against Wesenberg's *qui essent*. The reason why Cicero here did not introduce himself as one of the interlocutors was because his position as an orator would have given him too preponderating an authority in a treatise on oratory.

CLVII. (Fam. vii. 16, 1), itaque te commovere non curas. L. reads *ita* for *itaque*, and takes the meaning to be 'so indisposed

are you to move.' This use of *ita non* is very common, as, for instance, in the prologue to the *Andria*, where we should certainly read

Ita non sunt dissimili argumento: sed tamen
Dissimili oratione sunt factae ac stilo.

CLVIII. (Att. iv. 19, 2), magnus illius adventu cumulus accedet. Lehmann defends *adventus* of the mss by Rosc. Am. 8, *damnatio Rosci velut cumulus accedat*.

I add a few specially noteworthy comments on other letters:—

Att. vi. 3, 9, nihil amplius. He understands this to mean, not 'no more,' but 'nothing could be finer.' The passage is this: Speaking of the son of Hortensius, he writes, hunc ego patris causa vocavi ad cenam quo die venit, *et eiusdem patris causa nihil amplius*, which means, according to L., 'to pay a token of respect to his father, I invited him to dinner on the day of his arrival; and again, out of respect for his father, nothing could have been finer than the dinner.' It must be owned, however, that Cicero would probably have added *esse potuit*, or some such words, if this had been his meaning. But L. has certainly proved that in Fam. xii. 1, 2, *amplius aliquid per vos non accepit*, 'this was the finest service that the State received at your hands,' not 'the State received nothing further from you,' which is at variance with the context.

Att. vii. 3, 9, quid hominis sit. This is usually explained 'what kind of a fellow he is.' But Cicero knew very well the character of the son of Hortensius. L. thinks he means 'what comes to him as heir,' comparing *omnia quae mulieris fuerunt viri fiunt*, Top. 4, 23.

Att. xii. 42, 3, ego me . . . exiturum puto . . . aut in Tusculanum aut domum. Wesenberg would here read *Romam* for *domum*. But L. shows that in Cicero *domus* means Rome. In Att. ii. 13, 1, he says a packet was brought *domum* . . . *et ad me in Formianum relatum esse*, 'it was brought to Rome, and forwarded to him at

Formiae, where he was staying.' Cp. Fam. xiii. 47 *b*, 1; Fam. iv. 6, 2, *et domo absum ei foro*. This comment is especially valuable for the light it throws on two passages in this volume. In Q. Fr. iii. 1, 14, *nunc domus suppeditat mihi hortorum amaeritatem* means 'now Rome has for me all the charms of the country.' Again, in Q. Fr. ii. 8, 4 (cxiii.), *hortus domi est* means 'I have a kitchen garden attached to my town house.' In Att. xv. 1*a*, 2, *Dolabellam spero domi esse* is 'I hope Dolabella is in Rome'; and Lambinus, whom Wieland and Boot follow, was wrong in making *domi* bear in this passage the extraordinary meaning 'solvent.' On this erroneous explanation of *domi* is founded the strange interpretation of a term *foris esse*, twice applied by Cicero to Gabinius. I have already said that I do not believe in the traditional view about the meaning of *foris esse*.

Att. xiv. 10, 3. He thinks the word $\rho\iota\chi\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\mu\nu$ may be a hybrid word, coined in a sportive mood from *rixa* and $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\varsigma$. He compares *facteon*, Att. i. 16, 13, and *tocullio*, Att. ii. 1, 12.

Fam. iii. 12, 2, he sets right by a simple change of punctuation, *sed ita cecidisse ut agerentur eo tempore!* *Spero* . . . The use of the exclamatory infinitive is very common in the letters.

Fam. viii. 4, 2, *totus (Curio) ut nunc est hoc scaturit*. L. explains *ut nunc est* to mean 'in his present mind,' not 'as things now are.'

Fam. xvi. 23, 1, *Antonius de † legem quid egerit*. Most edd. give *Antonius de lege quid egerit*; but even after the change some word is needed on which *egerit* should depend. L. brilliantly conjectures *de lege en quid egerit*, a very slight change. The usage is quite borne out by Phil. iii. 22, *en cur magister* . . . *factus sit*, and other passages.

I am glad to find this accomplished latinist recognizes many resemblances between the letters and the comic drama. I dwelt on this subject in vol. I², pp. 59-64, and I have been careful to point out further examples in the notes to this volume. L. also notices

the prevalence of *hyperbaton* in the letters, a feature to which I have often drawn attention in my notes. The following good examples of *hyperbaton* are given by Lehmann:—

Ut huic vix tantulae epistolae tempus habuerim, Att. i. 14, 1: te . . . mihi venturum nuntiasset, Fam. iii. 7, 4; tuis incredibiliter studiis . . . delector, Fam. iii. 9, 3; quo ego haec die scripsi, Att. iv. 17, 4; Messalla et eius Domitius competitor, Att. iv. 17, 3, where I have noticed the *hyperbaton* in the note. Another good example of *hyperbaton* is Att. i. 2, 1, ego de meis ad te rationibus scripsi antea.

The second edition of I. C. G. Boot's *Epistolae ad Atticum* has just appeared (Amsterdam, J. Müller, 1886). Everyone who feels an interest in Latin learning will congratulate himself that this learned and acute critic has been spared to bring out, after twenty years, a second edition of his highly valuable work. Appended to his Preface is a collation of the *Codex Ravennas* with the edition of Wesenberg. It agrees generally with M, of which however it is not a copy; sometimes with A, F, or C; and occasionally has readings independent of all these mss. It contains, beside the books *ad Q. Fr.*, *ad Brutum*, and the *Ep. ad Octavianum*, the following portions of the books *ad Att.*:—

Att. i.-iii., complete.

Att. iv., Epp. 1-4; Ep. 16, from beginning of letter to *intellegat curo*, § 4; and from *amisimus mi Pomponi*, § 10, to end of letter; Ep. 17 to § 3; Epp. 18, 19.

Att. v., Epp. 1-8; Ep. 10.

Att. ix. Epp. 2-4; Ep. 6, from *ante sollicitus*, § 4, to the end of Caesar's letter.

Here are the most interesting of the divergences of R from M on Att. iv., the only part of the letters to Atticus comprised in the present volume. Boot's collation includes only the Epp. ad Att.:—

Att. iv. 2, 2, *doloris* (of which Boot approves) R ; *dolor et* M.

ibid. 3, *infini*, the conj. of Kl., R ; *infirmi* M.

ibid. 4, *tandem*, the conj. of Corrad., R ; *tamen* M.

3, 1, *sed velim perspicias* R ; *sed ut verum persp.* M.

16, 3, *feci quod* R ; *fecit idem* M.

19, 1, *Cecilianae* R ; *seleuciane* M.

In Att. iii. 24, 1, R for *se invitis* gives *eis invitis*, a reading found also in I, and recommended by me in Vol. I.

I am pleased to find that Boot. accepts some of my views put forward in Vol. I., and records others with approval ; though he passes over or rejects many which I believe to be sound.

I add (pp. xxiv-xxvii) a list of the new readings accepted or approved of in this edition.

As the letter T, which in this Table indicates the present editor, occurs so often in the last column, I must repeat an observation which I made in the Introduction to Vol. I. This list is of corrections which have not been generally received into the text. Now all my conjectures, except when they have been anticipated by others, must necessarily come under this category. The corrections of other editors appear in large numbers in the text ; but as they have been generally accepted, they do not stand in this Table.

Ep.	Ms reading.	Generally received reading.	Conjecture accepted in Text, or recorded with approbation.*	Editor.
xc. 5.	ab infima plebe.	.. ..	ab infimo plebe.	Lehmann.
xc. 4.	tibi.	illi, or homini, or id ei.	TIBI.	T.
xc. 5.	porticum.	.. ..	[porticum].	T.
ibid.	nam . . . profuisset.	.. ..	num . . . profuisset?	T.
xcii. 3.	anteferret, proscripsit.	.. ..	anteferret, nisi anteferret pro- scripsit.	Purser.
xcv. 2.	tibi.	.. ..	tibi.	ed. anon. ap. Crat.
xcviii. 2.	sceleratissimo tiranni latrocinio.	sceleratissimo latrocinio.	sceleratissimo tribunorum latro- cinio.	Purser.
cii. 3.	quae facta essent ad vi.	quae facta essent a. d. vi.	quae facta essent ad a. d. vi.	T.
cii. 4.	in ea multo sumus superiores.	in eo.	IN EA.	T.
cii. 7.	lucum.	.. ..	lacum.	Boot.
cvi. 3.	lucium.	Luceium.	Luci eum.	T. Mommsen.
cvi. 2.	emisti locum.	emisti ludum.	emisti λόχον.	Bos.
cix. 5.	Themistocli fuga redituque.	.. ..	<i>Themistocli fuga, Coriolani fuga redituque.</i>	T.
cx. 1.	communi fueris nonne.	communi frueris nomine.	<i>cum una fueris noris.</i>	T.
cx. 2.	ferrei.	servi, or miserimi.	FERREI.	Kays.
cxv. 1.	coram P. Cuspio.	.. ..	<i>coram eum P. Cuspio.</i>	T.
cxvii. 1.	est enim nostra eram ante quod.	est enim . . . nostra. Eram Antii. Quod.	etenim . . . nostra. Ante quod.	T. Mommsen.
cxviii. 4.	την εω γραμμήν.	την ἔσω γραμμήν.	την ἔξω γραμμήν.	Man.

CXXVII.	1.	Stabianum perforasti.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	(omitting non). <i>tablinum perforasti.</i>	Boot.
ibid.		ex illo cubiculo . . . lectiunculis.	ex illo cubiculo . . . spectiunculis, or in illo cub. lectiunculis.	.. .. .	.. .. .	EX ILLO CUBICULO . . . LECTIUNCULIS.	T.
ibid.		communes mimos.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	comminus mimos.	Madv.
CXXX.	1.	ergo et si irata.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	<i>ego ut sit rata.</i>	T.
CXXXI.	1.	quantum ad meum studium.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	quantum a. d. . . . meum studium.	Kl.
CXXXIII.	1.	populi convivio.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	populo convivio.	T.
CXXXII.	5.	locum.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	LOCUM.	T.
CXXXIX.	2.	si licet.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	SI LICET.	T.
CXLII.	1.	calamo et atramento.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	<i>calamo acri, atramento.</i>	T.
CXLII.	2.	plane aut.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	aut plane.	Wes.
CXLII.	3.	magis illa.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	magis e re tua, magis illa.	T.
CXLIII.	4.	debemus.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	[debemus].	Boot. Wes.
ibid.		celebritate.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	crebritate.	Wes.
CXLIV.	1.	ratione et verbis et re.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	oratione et re.	T.
CXLIV.	7.	miratos.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	miratos.	T.
CXLIV.	8.	ad quid id laboramus res romanas	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	at quid id laboramus? Habes res Romanas.	Wes.
CXLVII.	1.	etiam a propensis.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	etiam [a] propensis.	Wes.
CXLVIII.	4.	passuum.	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	passus.	Kl.

* The reading accepted in the text is printed in Roman type; the commended, but not accepted in the Text, in italics. When a ms reading is vindicated against a generally-received conjecture, the ms reading is given again in the penultimate column, printed in small caps.

Ep.	Ms reading.	Generally received reading.	Conjectures accepted in Text, or recorded with approbation.*	Editor.
cxviii. 4.	velles ducere vel vinum.	velles ducere. Veluinus.	velles [ducere]. Is unus.	T.
cxlviii. 7.	mihi . . . mecum fuisset.	mecum fuisset.	MIHI . . . MECUM FUISSET.	T.
cxlix. 1.	lepidum quo excidat.	lepidum quo exedar.	lepidum quid ne quo excidat.	T.
cxlix. 2.	cum omnino ne senatus quidem adfuisset.	cum omnino ne senatus quidem ea die fuisset.	<i>cum omnino ne senatus quidem</i> <i>a. d. . . . fuisset.</i> The date I suppose to have fallen out.	T.
cxlix. 3.	eo magis nunc cociace.	eo magis nunc †cociace.	eo magis nunc hoc iacet.	T. Mommsen.
ibid.	decernit.	decerevit.	DECERNIT.	T.
ibid.	sortita.	†sortita.	SORTITA.	T.
ibid.	cedit.	sedit.	CEDIT.	T.
cl. 2.	undique atius.	undique actus, or exagitatus.	undique saucius.	T.
ibid.	accidat.	.. ..	accedat.	Sch.
cl. 3.	nomina data.	.. ..	<i>nomina omnia data.</i>	T.
cli. 2.	quattuor omnes rei.	quattuor ; omnes rei.	quattuor omnes rei.	Wes.
clii. 2.	initio rerum.	.. ..	initio, evento rerum.	T.
ibid.	aliquo.	alicui.	ALIUO.	KL.
cliii 11.	meis M. cinneis H.	meis.	CINNEIS.	Streicher.
ibid.	princeps esset vir is qui.	princeps esset, vir is qui.	princeps esset vir, is qui.	Wes.
cliii. 12.	in hac mente.	in hanc mentem.	IN HAC MENTE.	Streicher.

CLIII. 17.	sensu.	sententia.	SENSU.	AL.
CLIII. 18.	nec persuadendo nec cogendo.	.. .. .	nec persuadendo nec nisi cogendo.	Purser.
ibid.	quascunque res miret.	quascunque res gereret.	quascunque res iniret.	Purser.
CLIII. 25.	paraturum.	comparaturum.	PARATURUM.	T.
CLIV. 2.	ista.	ista.	isti.	Gulielmus.
CLV. 1.	sed saepe.	.. .. .	<i>sed ut saepe, or sed caepi.</i>	T.
CLV. 2.	redditos.	relictos.	<i>reftctos.</i>	T.
CLVI. 1.	et maxime et Appia.	et maxime Appia.	et maxime . . . et Appia.	T.
CLVII. 1.	in extremo sero sapiunt.	in extremo: 'sero sapiunt.'	'in extremo sero sapiunt.'	T.
CLVIII. 1.	nam Vestorio.	.. .. .	num Vestorio.	T.
ibid.	nostrae reip. germanam.	.. .. .	nostra reip. germanae . . .	Wes.
LVIII. 2.	Selicianae provinciae.	Selicianae unciae.	Felicianae unciae.	T.
CLXX. 1.	Seius.	†Zeius.	Selius.	Kl.
ibid.	quis enim est.	.. .. .	quis enim bonus est.	Wes.
CLXXI. 1.	arbitrarere.	.. .. .	arbitrare.	T.
CLXXI. 2.	quod tu prior.	.. .. .	quo tu prior.	Wes.
CLXXVIII. 2.	summa est in quo.	summa est, in quo.	<i>summa est: est in quo.</i>	T.
CLXXIX. 1.	iacerunt.	.. .. .	<i>tacuerunt.</i>	Purser.

* The reading accepted in the text is printed in Roman type; the commended, but not accepted in the text, in italics. When a ms reading is vindicated against a generally-received conjecture, the ms reading is given again in the penultimate column, printed in small caps.

TABLE OF CORRECTIONS.

THE READER is requested to make the following CORRECTIONS. Where *a* or *b* is added, the reference is to the first or the second columns of the notes ; otherwise, the reference is to the text :—

- Page 14, line 6, *for* 'convitio' *read* 'convicio' (and so wherever any part of this word is thus wrongly spelt).
 „ 25, l. 12, *for* 'suspitione' *read* 'suspicione' (and make the same correction wherever any part of *suspicio* or *suspiciosus* is spelt with a *t*).
 „ 37, l. 9, *for* 'Luciniani' *read* 'Luciniana.'
 „ 39, *b*, last line, *for* 'outré, conduct' *read* 'outré conduct.'
 „ 40, *b*, l. 8, *dele* 'where, however, he has not been followed by modern edd., save Boot.'
 „ 40, *b*, l. 13, *for* 'the disposition usually followed (*e.g.* G. Orelli)' *read* 'the disposition followed by Orelli.'
 „ 45, *b*, last line, *for* 'rare' *read* 'not rare.' *Add* 'see note on cxxxiii § 1.'
 „ 57, last line but two, *for* 'pracipue' *read* 'praecipue.'
 „ 73, l. 12 from bottom, *for* 'May 13 and 14' *read* 'May 15 and 16.'
 „ 81, 82, head lines, *for* 'CXX. (Q. FR. II. 9)' *read* 'CXX. (Q. FR. II. 7 (9)).'
 „ 81, *a*, l. 12 from bottom, *for* 'Pompeius' *read* 'Crassus.'
 „ 87, l. 5, *for* 'hominum' *read* 'hominem.'
 „ 88, *b*, l. 2, *add* to note on *hortus* 'But see Pref. pp. xx, xxi.'
 „ 92, *a*, l. 8, *after* 'I think we should read *aestimem*' *add* 'omitting *non*, and taking *quanti* as = *quantuli*.'
 „ 100, *b*, l. 9, *for* 'cxxxii' *read* 'cxxxii.'
 „ 126, l. 3 from bottom of text, *for* 'magis *e re tua* ; magis . . . illa' *read* 'magis *e re tua* ; magis illa.'
 „ 132, *a*, l. 1, as lemma of note, *for* 'vel etiam . . . esse' *read* 'quod erant abs te.'
 „ 135, last line of text, *for* 'Romanas?' *read* 'Romanas.'
 „ 146, l. 12, *for* 'illam' *read* 'illum.'
 „ 147, *a*, l. 15, *for* 'Opipus' *read* 'Oppius.'
 „ 149, *b*, l. 9 from bottom, *for* 'cxxxii' *read* 'cxxxiii.'
 „ 155, last line of text, *for* 'ERANT † OMNIBUS † SORTITA' *read* '† ERANT OMNIBUS † SORTITA ;' and *add* to note on TACITUM IUDICIUM 'see Pref. p. xii.'
 „ 189, *b*, line 6 from bottom, *for* 'Brittannia' *read* 'Britannia.'

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INTRODUCTION.

I.—HISTORICAL.

CICERO AND THE TRIUMVIRATE.

THE period succeeding Cicero's restoration from exile has been seized on by his detractors as an opportunity for depicting him as a political apostate, or a time-serving trimmer. The whole pack of minor *feuilletonistes* follow in full cry the lead of the sovran *savant*, the prince of historical-epoch-makers, Theodor Mommsen. What I think of the outrage which he has perpetrated on the fame of Cicero I have already said. I have 'spoken holy words to the Lord Lysimachus.' I now will try to trace the career of Cicero in the troublous times at which we have arrived, not in the spirit of the public prosecutor of a somewhat feeble criminal, but as the unbiased spectator of the conduct of a great and good man under singularly difficult circumstances.

Even his admirers do not care to dwell on this epoch. 'Ce n'est pas,' writes Gaston Boissier, 'une belle époque de sa vie, et ses admirateurs les plus résolus la dissimulent le plus qu'ils le peuvent.' He is generally represented as vacillating between the aristocracy, his old party, and the coalition between Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, which is commonly spoken of as the first Triumvirate. We will briefly review the relation of Cicero to the chief events of the period covered by Part iv. of the Correspondence, and to the chief actors who took part in this scene of the Tragedy of the Fall of the Roman Republic.

Cicero is said during this epoch to have continually halted between the Optimates and the Triumvirs. But it would be a

mistake to suppose that two clearly defined parties presented themselves to him that he might choose between them. Gaston Boissier well remarks that 'les questions ne se posent pas aux yeux des contemporains avec la même netteté qu' à ceux de la postérité.' The terms *Optimate* and *Triumvirate* have for us a *netteté* which misleads us when we contemplate their relation to the mind of Cicero. A few years before *Optimate* meant for him Pompeius, or at least the union of Senate and Equites under the leadership of Pompeius, the soldier-chief of a free Republic, another Scipio, to whom Cicero should play Laelius. At this time such a party can hardly be said to exist. When Cicero now speaks of the *boni*, he adds, 'I am not sure that they are not an extinct race,' *qui nescio an nulli sint*. During the coalition the Optimates, if not extinct, were at all events in a state of suspended animation, from which they were not thoroughly aroused but by the fall of Cæsar. This is what Cicero deplors. He does not express regret for any defection from a party, though he deeply regrets that he must give up his old political sympathies.* Writing to Lentulus in 699 (55), he complains, 'you are sensible how difficult it is to lay aside one's political sympathies, especially when they are well grounded and deeply seated.'† And then he goes on to declare that the constitutionalists are extinct, and that his esteem for Pompeius, and his natural bias toward him, make him regard all his policy as straightforward and fair.

Now, how does the Triumvirate present itself to Cicero? The Triumvirate too, in the main, spells Pompeius. In fact, from the Mithridatic War to Pharsalia, Pompeius was the imposing figure to Roman eyes. His opinions, his principles, his relations to the parties, seemed the main factors in the political situation to every Roman—except, perhaps, Pompeius himself. Cicero constantly complains that Pompeius wrapped himself in mystery; *ut loque-*

* When Cicero tells us that Pompeius has in 'the archives of his pocket-book as long a list of future consuls as the State records have of consuls past,' we feel that the empire has already begun. Adhesion to the Optimate cause would at this time have been looked on as an act of insanity. 'How do you suppose I feel?' he writes, ex. § 2, 'I am looked on as a madman if I say what duty bids; as a time-server if I follow the dictates of expediency; and if I hold my peace I am said to be brow-beaten and in thralldom.'

† Ep. cxix. § 2.

batur, he says,* must be our refrain, like the *καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδου* of the old gnomie poet, whenever we speak of Pompeius: again, *velit nolit scire difficile est*:† and, ‘you know how slow and how silent he is.’‡ To Cicero he seems a perfect treasure-house of *haute politique*, carefully and deliberately shrouded by him in silence. The cynical Caelius takes a much lower view of this sphinx, when he writes to Cicero—§

‘If you have met Pompeius let me know what impression he gave you, how he spoke, what views he expressed—his real feelings are of course quite different from what he expresses; but then he has not sufficient *adroitness* to conceal his thoughts.’

Probably the real reason why he never disclosed his opinions was that he had no opinions to disclose. But such was not the belief of his contemporaries in general, few of whom were so irreverent as Caelius. To Cicero, as I have said, the Triumvirate mainly meant Pompeius. He does not use the words *Triumvirs* and *Triumvirate* at all. Nor have they any consistent solidarity for Cicero. Sometimes he calls them *illi qui tenent*, or *qui tenent omnia, populares, dynastae*; sometimes the primacy of Pompeius is more clearly expressed, as when he calls the *Triumvirs dominus* (Pompeius), and *advocati* (Cæsar and Crassus).|| Anon he speaks of the Triumvirate as if it were the autocracy of Pompeius. Writing to Atticus (cliv. 2), he says: ‘I feel no concern at seeing all the powers of the State in the hands of one man. Why? Because it is breaking the hearts of those who could not bear to see any power at all in mine.’ Of course in process of time the coalition begins to look more like a party. Cicero speaks of it as *res* in *Fam.* i. 1, 8 (cxix.), and writes as if it were likely to be indefinitely prolonged, as, indeed, it might have been but for the deaths of two not very eminent people, Julia, the wife of Pompeius, and the Triumvir Crassus, than whom, at this crisis, Rome could certainly have better spared a better man. His feelings towards

* *Ep.* cxvii. § 1.

† *Ep.* clix. § 4.

‡ *civ.* 2, *nosti hominis tarditatem et taciturnitatem*.

§ *Fam.* viii. 1, 3.

|| *Att.* ii. 19, 3. There can be no doubt that this is the meaning of the passage.

the different members of the coalition are quite different. He speaks of Crassus in his private letters in the language of dislike and contempt. *O hominem nequam** are the words which dismiss him on his journey to the province from which he was never to return. We have seen that he professes, at least, to enjoy carrying out the behests of Pompeius; but he feels that the *palinode* in praise of Cæsar 'looks a little ugly.' Yet he is repelled by the unsympathetic arrogance of Pompeius, and fascinated by the generous courtesy of Cæsar, from whom, however, he recoils as the natural enemy of the Constitutionals. The coalition had not any such solidarity as would have justified Cicero in looking on it as a Party or even as a Cave. It was, indeed, a coalition which never coalesced. Cicero might himself have made it a Quattuorvirate, as he expressly tells us in the speech *de provinciis consularibus*,† the celebrated *palinode* already referred to. The ties which held together the champion of the democracy, the leader of the aristocracy, and the great capitalist, were at different times drawn very tightly, and almost entirely relaxed. It was a conspiracy of Genius, Position, and Capital, against the Law, which places bounds to all these three. How the ideal of Cicero became impossible, and how Pompeius drifted into the lawless designs of Cæsar, is excellently told by a careful student and brilliant exponent of this epoch of Roman history.‡ When Pompeius returned, the idol of his victorious army at the conclusion of the Mithridatic War, he might have seized Rome and established a military despotism, as Cæsar did afterwards. As we know, he refrained from such a treacherous and criminal act. The sequel is thus described in the essay to which I have referred:—

'Pompey believed that the highest place would be freely granted to him as soon as he had proved his loyalty by refusing to seize on it. He appealed to the honour of his countrymen not at least to refuse that which a few weeks before he could have commanded—the confirmation, namely, of his arrangements respecting his Asiatic conquests, and the redemption of his promise of grants of

* Att. iv. 13, 2 (cxxx.). The letter to Crassus (Fam. v. 8) is merely a public manifesto.

† § 41, *me in tribus sibi coniunctissimis consularibus esse voluit*. Observe the vagueness of the words which mean the Triumvirate. For other distinct proofs of this fact, see Att. ii. 1, 6 and 7; ii. 3, 3. See also vol. I², p. 26, note †.

‡ Mr. J. L. Strachan-Davidson in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 296, October, 1879.

land to his victorious soldiers. With a short-sighted perversity of ingratitude the Senate refused both these requests. Pompey's disappointment was bitter; he was called to act in a situation where right and wrong were no longer so clear, and in which his want of political capacity and political training led him into fatal errors. A year and a-half elapsed from Pompey's landing in Italy, and still the confusions of the situation showed no signs of clearing. The union of Senate and Equites under the leadership of Pompey, the ideal combination of which Cicero dreamed, failed to realize itself, owing to the selfishness and impracticability of the parties. At length, about the middle of the year 694 (60), Cæsar, who had been absent for some months as pro-prætor in Spain, returned to Rome, and a very different solution presented itself in the famous coalition of Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar. Cæsar promised, if he were made consul, and were duly backed up by his confederates, that he would obtain for them, legally or illegally, the measures which each desired. The Equites, with whom Crassus was leagued, were anxious for a remission of their contracts for the collection of the taxes; and this claim was now to be satisfied. Pompey's acts in Asia were to be confirmed, and his soldiers were to have their lands. Cæsar in return bargained for a province and an army. The bribe was too tempting to be resisted. The patience of Pompey was worn out. He had not the magnanimity to submit to vexation and discomfiture rather than swerve from the straight path. He had virtue enough not to break the law himself, when he might have reaped all the advantages of the crime; he had not firmness enough to refuse to take advantage of the breach of the law by another, who professed himself willing to act in his behalf. In his short-sightedness he probably hardly recognized that his compact with Cæsar was treasonable. This compact is the turning-point of Pompey's life. Henceforth he is no longer master of his own course; he is driven to a succession of forced moves. He, who would fain be the champion of legality, is obliged to defend the illegal acts of Cæsar. He, who refused to bear arms against the State, provides with an army a rival who has no such scruple. In the interest of the coalition to which he has bound himself, he is obliged to undertake the task for which he is least fitted, that of guiding the turbulent politics of the city. His warlike achievements grow pale beside the fresh glories of Cæsar. His efforts to obtain a compensating power elsewhere fail. In spite of misgivings he is forced to renew the Triumvirate at the conference of Luca. He is doomed to work at building up, stone by stone, the edifice of his rival's greatness, only to find out too late that he has created a power which aims at the destruction of the Republic, and to perish at last in a desperate effort to undo the work of his own hands.

‘Pompey's great fault is, that he aspired to a political career without any political creed or political principle. He belongs to no party; he represents no consistent idea. He never seems to have come to any conclusion on the main question of the day, the alternative of an aristocratical or a despotic government. In his youth his sword had helped Sulla to set up the authority of the Senate, and he drew the sword again in his old age in vain defence of that authority; yet, by

his restoration of the tribunician power in his first consulship, he struck a deadly blow at the polity which Sulla had established, and in his extraordinary commands and offices he traversed every rule of the aristocratic *régime*, and gave precedents for almost all the arrangements of the imperial system. Dean Merivale has some justification for beginning his "History of the Romans under the Empire" with the return of Pompey from the conquest of Mithridates. Throughout a long political life Pompey hardly ever ventured to initiate a policy or to originate a reform. He wished to be the leader of Roman politics, but had not the wit to see that a leader must needs accept responsibility. Because he is virtuous, Rome is to tolerate a physician who has no idea what is the disease of which the State is sickening, or what the remedy which he will prescribe.'

All credit is due to Pompeius for refraining from the crime which Cæsar committed when he made himself master of Rome by force of arms. Yet it may be doubted whether the face of history would have been greatly changed if Pompeius had won the battle of Pharsalia. The use which he made of his position as the sole remaining Triumvir on the departure of Crassus for Syria, the other, Cæsar, being absent in Gaul, was certainly far from constitutional. His first design seems to have been to gain the dictatorship, but his characteristic *tarditas et taciturnitas* made him dissemble his ambition, hoping apparently that the greatness would be thrust on him which his 'flat unraised spirit' forbade him to achieve for himself.* His first act was to seek the support of Cicero. We must take a very brief retrospect, to show in what position the great orator now stood.

When Cicero returned from exile he enjoyed an unmixed triumph in his reception in Rome and Italy. It is an incident unique in Roman history, and justifies the words in which he speaks of his return as 'an ascent into heaven, rather than a restoration to his country' (pro dom. 75). Indeed the glories of his return for a while eclipse, in his mind, and supersede in his words, the triumphs of his consulate. Three days after his return

* A fine phrase of Pindar's excellently describes Pompeius:—'there is whom, overmuch mistrusting his strength, a faint heart, dragging him back by the hand, hath robbed of his guerdon due'—

τὸν δ' αὖ καταμεμφθέντ' ἄγαν
 ἰσχὺν οἰκείων παρέσφαλεν καλῶν
 χεῖρὸς ἑλκων ὀπίσσω θυμὸς ἄτολμος ἑών.—NEM. xi. 30.

he proposed the investment of Pompeius with the Commissionership of the corn supply. This was merely a mark of gratitude for the part which Pompeius had taken in his restoration, and no one looked upon it as a bid for the favour of the Triumvirs. The extraordinary warmth of his reception, the acquittal of Sestius, and many other circumstances, made Cicero hope for a revival of the Optimate party. The consuls for the year were *boni*. The Triumvirate seemed to be falling to pieces. Cicero began to think he might resume his old position as champion of the aristocracy. He was bold enough to announce on April 5, 698 (56), his intention of calling on the senate to review, on May 15, the legislation of Cæsar's consulate in 695 (59), especially the allotment of the Campanian land under the agrarian laws of that year. This was a direct challenge to Cæsar, and would have revived the Optimate party by giving them a banner round which to rally. But Cicero very soon began to see that his former position was not to be regained. The attacks made on the workmen who were engaged in rebuilding his house on the Palatine showed him that he had active and bitter enemies. The aristocracy, for whom he had suffered so much, were offended by the enthusiasm displayed at the restoration of the *novus homo*; and the *scurra consularis* had a biting way of putting a grumbling aristocrat in the wrong. The light of his genius quenched the embers of Optimate enthusiasm, as the rays of the sun seem to extinguish a dying fire. They petted Clodius, and cut down to a minimum the sums which had been allowed as indemnification for the losses his fortune had incurred. In his own words (Att. iv. 2), 'those who had clipped his wings did not care to see them sprouting again.' It was bad enough that they should grudge to the consular *parvenu* a house which had belonged to a Catulus, forgetting that it was bought by him from a Vettius. But the treachery and stupidity of his former party reached the climax when they failed to conceal from him their pleasure at the prospect that by his motion of May 15 Cicero would irritate Cæsar beyond hope of reconciliation, and probably alienate Pompeius as well. Accordingly we are not surprised to find that Cicero lent a ready ear to Pompeius when the latter urged him most strongly to withdraw his motion. Pompeius left Rome on a visit to Sardinia, where he met Q. Cicero,

and demanded as a right that he should prevent his brother from taking his contemplated step. Quintus, he said, had gone bail for his brother, and was responsible for his conduct. Cæsar had left Gaul for Ravenna, where he was joined by Crassus. Pompeius met the two at Luca, and there the Triumvirate was put on a far firmer and more definite basis than before.

In a letter to his brother, Cicero had announced very curtly that the obnoxious motion was to be made on the 15th, not, however, connecting his own name closely with the matter,* and in similar allusive fashion he records that the motion has been dropped.† Rome's least mortal mind was, after all, but mortal still, and Cicero should have been more than mortal if he had repelled the overtures of the Triumvirs, and ruined himself and his brother by waving a banner which his former allies would not follow, though they would fain have encouraged him to wave it still, because they saw that his enthusiasm would be his ruin. Cicero, therefore, can hardly be said to have broken with his party, for there was really no Optimate party now; but he definitely gave himself to do the bidding of Pompeius. He wrote his *palinode*, as he calls his speech, *De provinciis consularibus*, with the express intention of making his step irrevocable; *ego mehercule*, he writes to Atticus,‡ *mihi necessitatem volui imponere huius novae coniunctionis*. And he was faithful to this *nova coniunctio*. He often bewails the old cause that is lost, but he never contemplates throwing off his allegiance to the Triumvirs. He confesses that he was a 'downright ass' to believe so long in the feeble and treacherous aristocrats who had sacrificed him once, and were now more than ever ready to sacrifice him again.§

* *Eodem die vehementer actum est de agro Campano clamore Senatus prope contionali* (cvi. § 1). He distinctly refers to himself as the author of the motion in *Fam. i. 9, 8* (cliii.). But he does not ascribe the enthusiasm which now animated the Optimates to his independence on this occasion, but rather to his prosecution of Gabinius, and rupture with Crassus.

† *Q. Fr. ii. 6, 2* (cxvii.).

‡ *Att. iv. 5, 1* (cviii.). See note there, where it is shown that the *παλινφθία* was the speech *de prov. cons.*

§ When he makes the confession to Atticus (cviii. 1), that his 'palinode looked a little ugly,' he goes on to say, *sed valeant recta vera honesta consilia*. This is usually understood to mean 'good-bye to the right, just, and honourable (Optimate) policy.' Thus he is represented as bidding adieu to the policy which he knows to be right.

What rankles in the mind of Cicero is the jealousy and treachery of the nobles, and he cannot account for it even on the theory that they despised his *novitas*. Writing to Lentulus (cxiv. 8), he says: 'I see that it was not my want of hereditary distinction that made them jealous of my fame, for I see that they were as jealous of you, though of the noblest house.' The advice which he says he got from Atticus was, 'that he should play the politician and take the safe course.'* The safe course was the cause of the Triumvirs. And Cicero, after once espousing it, shows no tendency to relinquish it, though he often deplores the high-handed acts of Pompeius,† and his colleagues, and 'the untimely work that is done under the sun'; and sighs for the good old times which were gone never to return.‡ 'In a word,' he writes to his brother, 'they are irresistible, and they want to make this generally felt.'§ The whole state of things is *σκυλμός*,|| 'a piece of *tracasserie*.' Yet there is no choice. The Optimates are extinct. His sole ambition now is to fling away ambition, to keep out of politics, to turn his back even on his forensic career, and to devote himself to literature. In this connexion it is important to understand the expressions *nostra Urania*, and *nostrum Iovem*, which he sometimes uses, and to re-

Now it is surely remarkable that in Fam. i. 8, 2 (cxix.), he applies two of these three adjectives to the policy of Pompeius. The reader, on consulting that passage, will, I think, see reason to believe that Cicero is here referring to the policy of the Triumvirs, not of the Optimates. 'But,' he exclaims, 'good luck to the policy which is at least straightforward, fair, and honourable; you could hardly believe in the existence of such treachery as the leading Optimates are guilty of,' *sed valeant recta vera honesta consilia. Non est credibile quae sit perfidia in istis principibus*. In the word *principibus* he certainly refers to the leading Optimates, who had shown such treachery and jealousy of the reviving eminence of Cicero. The same class are called *principes* in Q. Fr. iii. 9, 3 (Ep. clx.). It is true that in Ep. cx. 2, he refers to the Optimate cause as the one to which duty calls him, but he adds that it would be downright madness to embrace it. The Optimates are an extinct race. To espouse the cause one should first revive it. It must, moreover, be observed, that in cx. 2 he speaks of a projected attack on the Optimate policy, *commentor ut ista improbem*, and they are referred to as *isti* in Att. iv. 18, 2 (cliv.): indeed it would be hard to explain the use of *isti* or *ista* for the Triumvirs and their views in a letter to Atticus. I have shown in a note on this passage that *ista* can hardly refer to the Triumvirs' policy.

* cxviii. 4.

† See cxviii. 2.

‡ Writing to Curio (Fam. ii. 5, 2), he says: 'I am afraid when you come you will find nothing here to interest you; public life is in such a state of syncope—indeed almost complete collapse.'

§ cxx. 3.

|| cxxx. 1.

member that the counsel of Urania and Jupiter was that he should betake himself to the calm delights of study and literature.* His public speeches at this period are models of *finesse*, carefully constructed so as to give offence to nobody. Borrowing an expression from his contemporary Catullus, he calls himself *oricula infima molliorem* (cxli. 5).† The speeches of 700 (54) offer herein a great contrast to those of 697 (57) and 698 (56). Again, in cliii. 17, he writes: *neque vero ego mihi postea quidquam adsumpsi neque hodie adsumo quod quemquam malevolentissimum iure possit offendere*. But like an eminent statesman of our own day, whose motto might well be the words of Cicero, in a letter to his brother, ‘I must be at something else, I cannot remain quiet,’‡ Cicero knew not what it was to rest. His nearest approach to rest was a change from one form of mental activity to another. Less happy, however, than the modern politician, Cicero was not able to persuade himself to believe what he wished to believe. His eloquence was efficacious only with his hearers—‘rather calculated to win the assent of others than of myself.’§ That Cicero was not undecided—that he was not hovering between two rival policies—is made very clear by a letter to Quintus, iii. 4, 2, 3 (clii.). Some of his friends had urged Cicero to act as prosecutor of Gabinius. He points out how this would have brought on him the hostility of Pompeius without securing any good result. It would be like the fight between Pacideianus and Aeserninus—on the one side all the skill, on the other irresistible brute force.

Let us now observe the conduct of Pompeius on finding himself the sole representative of the Triumvirate at Rome, and assured of the support of Cicero. In those days to have Cicero on one’s side was a great matter. Pompeius was in the position of a modern statesman who should have just secured the support of all the great London daily papers. This was seen by no one so clearly as by Cæsar. Herein, as in other matters, he towered above the men of his time. It was when Cicero showed signs of assuming a hostile attitude that Cæsar hurried to Ravenna to urge the

* See note on cxx. 1.

† *Mollior . . . imula oricilla*, Catull. xxv. 2. He again borrows a phrase from Catullus (xxx. 1), in the word *ocellos Italiae villulas*, Att. xvi. 6, 2. But Cicero never mentions Catullus, and consistently avoids quoting from contemporary poets.

‡ cxxxix. 1.

§ cxli. 5.

necessity of conciliating, or, if it must be so, crushing Cicero. He was ready for either alternative, though he infinitely preferred the former. Pompeius was probably quite stupid enough to think he could dispense with Cicero. When, on meeting Q. Cicero in Sardinia, he desired him to ask his brother ‘not to attack Cæsar if he would not or could not support him,’* we may be very sure that the appeal was made at the instance of Cæsar, but the unmannerly wording of it was due solely to Pompeius. Contrast with this the lofty courtesy of Cæsar, who, on learning, or rather inferring, from a letter which could hardly be deciphered, owing to the action of water, in which it had been accidentally immersed, that Quintus proposed to join him in Gaul, was so overjoyed at the good feeling on the part of Marcus implied in this step, that he writes to a friend—‘I cannot make out for certain what you say about Cicero; my guess at the meaning gives, I am afraid, too good news to be true.’† We are not surprised to find that in a letter written just after hearing this expression, Cicero says that he grapples Cæsar to his soul with hoops of steel,‡ and declares that he is ‘the one plank in the shipwreck of things’ to which he clings with a sense of pleasure; while of Pompeius, he exclaims, ‘Gods! what a dullard he is! how single and concentrated his adoration of himself.’§

In the position in which Pompeius now found himself there was much work to be done which could be done only by Cicero. One of the instruments of the Triumvirate was a wretch named P. Vatinius on whom Cicero had already emptied the vials of his wrath and scorn. This creature had been elected to the prætorship, the typically virtuous Cato being a defeated candidate. And it now became the duty of Cicero to defend Vatinius. He does not seem even to have asked Pompeius

‘Was it so nominated in the bond?’

* cliii. 9.

† It is interesting to contrast the words and tone in which Pompeius and Cæsar respectively invite Cicero to join them. Pompeius writes (Att. viii. 11 A), *Censeo ad nos Luceriam venias. Nam te hic tutissime puto fore*: an insulting offer of patronage and protection. Cæsar, on the other hand, after many graceful expressions of gratitude and esteem, adds, *In primis a te peto, quoniam confido me celeriter ad urbem venturum, ut te ibi videam, ut tuo consilio, gratia, dignitate, ope omnium rerum uti possim* (Att. ix. 6 A).

‡ Att. iv. 19, 2 (clviii.).

§ Q. Fr. iii. 8, 4 (clix.).

He tells us that he felt a pleasure in defending him, because it galled the aristocrats who were petting 'the other Publius,' his old enemy, Clodius. Another client was Scaurus, the brother-in-law of Pompeius, who, having spent all his means on the shows of his aedileship, naturally sought to recoup his shattered fortunes in his province. He returned from Sardinia in a position to buy the consulship. Happily for the Sardinians a young man named Triarius wished to make his *début* in public life. Else they might have long waited for a Roman of any position willing to make himself ridiculous by espousing the cause of a plundered province. Scaurus was acquitted. Let us hope that the poor Sardinians enjoyed the broad humour of the fact that they had come to Rome to look for justice; and that they recovered as wages for battery or murder some of the money of which they had been robbed. The profession of murderer was at this time a flourishing one in Rome, and a few stout Sardinians derelict in a foreign city would probably be as cheap as runaway slaves or gladiators. At all events they had this satisfaction: they spoiled the candidature of Scaurus for the consulate. Two of the other candidates, Domitius Calvinus and Memmius Gemellus, now made a bargain with the existing consuls, Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius, whereby the latter were to support the candidature of the former, who bound themselves in return under a fine to produce, if elected, absolutely and demonstrably perjured evidence, on the oath of three Augurs, to the existence of certain arrangements convenient for the outgoing consuls as to the allotment of the provincial governments. This disgraceful compact does not seem to have injured anyone appreciably, when Memmius divulged it. The only person who appears to have been shocked was Cæsar, who withdrew his support from Memmius. Memmius accordingly failed to obtain the consulate, but he had the prospect of something good from Pompeius, if he should become Dictator, as seemed likely. His accomplice Domitius Calvinus was elected to the consulate for the following year, and was, no doubt, much respected. Of the outgoing consuls Appius treated the matter as of no consequence. Domitius was weak enough to take it to heart. Cicero, in a passage in which he disavows complicity in the plot, remarks, however, that he is on very good terms with Memmius and Calvinus.*

* Q. Fr. iii. 1, 16 (cxlviii.).

A still harder task was imposed on Cicero when he was obliged to defend Gabinius, who, on his return from Syria found himself confronted with three prosecutions, *de maiestate*, *de vi*, and *de ambitu*. He bought a favourable verdict on the first charge, when Cicero gave evidence against him; but was found guilty on the second, though Cicero much against his will undertook his defence. Cicero refers to this transaction in two places. A comparison of the two will put in a very strong light the value of his private letters as a reflection of his real views which he used his speeches to conceal. In his speech for Rabirius Postumus (§ 33) he declares,

‘My reason for defending Gabinius was simply friendship. We had adjusted our difference, and shaken hands. If you think that I did it reluctantly to please Pompeius you are vastly mistaken. He would not have asked such a sacrifice of me, nor would I have given it. I am too clearly the champion of independence to resign it in my own actions.’

Writing to Atticus (cliv. § 2) on the occasion of the acquittal of Gabinius, he says:—

‘You will ask me, “And how do you take the matter?” Very easily; and on that I congratulate myself heartily. My dear Pomponius, the State has lost not only the sap and blood of its heart, but the very outward hue and haviour of its visage. There is no State to take any delight in or feel any satisfaction. “And do you take that so easily?” you will say. Even so. I remember how fair a thing was the Republic for a while when I was at the helm—and what was my reward. I feel no resentment that one man should have all the power; because those are bursting with envy who were sorry to see me with any. I have much to comfort me. And I am not travelling out of my proper sphere. I am going back to letters and research—the life for which I am best fitted by nature. I amuse myself with my house and my farms. I do not think about the height from which I have fallen, but the depth from which I have risen. If I have you and my brother with me those aristocrats of yours may go to perdition for all I care; I can betake myself to my speculations in your company. I lack the gall now that once made oppression bitter.’

There is another passage (clv. 4) in a slightly different tone, though his correspondent is his brother, whom he would not try to deceive:—

‘I am dissociating myself completely from politics, and giving myself up to letters. But I must tell you one thing which I would fain have kept from you

above all men. I am tormented, my dearest brother, tormented by the thought that the Republic is no more ; that there is no law ; that I who at my time of life ought to be in the zenith of a dignified senatorial career, am harassed with forensic toil, or kept alive by literature ; that the motto of my whole life from boyhood—

πολλὸν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχος ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,

should be a thing of the past ; that my enemies should be unassailed by me, or even defended ; that my feelings, that even my indignation should be held in a leash ; that there should be but one—Cæsar—to give me the love I want—or perhaps I should say, to want to love me.’

But again, in writing to his brother (clx. 1), he comments on the acquittal of Gabinius in a tone more like that which he had used to Atticus :—

‘The shameful and disastrous issue of the trial I view with very little concern. I have one clear gain from it. The wrongs of the State and the effrontery that goes unchecked used to make me like to burst with rage ; now I do not even feel them. Nothing could be more desperate than the state to which society has come.’

The year 701 (53) began without any magistrates. The only resource was an *interregnum*, and this lasted for six months. The government thus changed hands every five days. Everything seemed to point to a dictatorship. But Pompeius would not declare his desire for it, or rather distinctly affirmed that he did not covet the position, though he had owned privately to Cicero that he did.* Hirrus made a proposal to confer the dictatorship on Pompeius. This was so resolutely opposed by Cato, that Pompeius thought it wise to throw over Hirrus, and disavow that he was authorized by himself. In July Calvinus and Messalla were elected to the consulship. Hardly had the new consuls entered on office when the news came of the disaster at Carrhæ, and the death of Crassus. This untoward event must have forced on Pompeius the reflection that it behoved him to strengthen his position. And circumstances lent themselves to him, as they often did. The death of Clodius deprived Milo of his chance of the consulate in the following year, and thus was paralyzed a great deal of influence which would have been used against the lawless designs of Pompeius.

* Q. Fr. iii. 8, 5 (clix.).

In the month of February Bibulus proposed in the Senate that Pompeius should be made consul, without a colleague. The proposal was accepted, being supported even by Cato. Pompeius was now invested with almost as absolute power as he might have achieved by a crime after the Mithridatic War. His position was altogether unconstitutional. The Senate had no right to confer it. It was a dictatorship in everything except name. But names have great weight with men like Pompeius. He seems hardly to have understood the position in which he was placed. The Senate put him there to do the work of Sulla. He used his power merely to punish private enemies. His *senatus consultum* against bribery was made retrospective, and the trials became embarrassing by their number.* The subsequent acts of folly which provoked the Civil War are too well known to need recapitulation; nor does that crisis in the history of the Republic come within the scope of the present volume. But when we learn that Pompeius, in violation of his own law, procured an enactment which secured to him for five years more the Government of Spain, that he kept a portion of his army in Italy, and took from the State a thousand talents for its support, we feel that it was little more than chance which decided whether Cæsar or Pompeius should give the Republic its *coup de grâce*.

In taking a broad view of Cicero's political attitude during this epoch, we must remember that he was drawn to Pompeius by old political sympathies, and to Cæsar by consistent courtesy and generosity on his part; and that the Optimates deliberately effaced themselves, and tried to efface Cicero. Under these circumstances what Cicero really desired was cultured leisure, *otium cum dignitate*. If at this period, through his desire for *otium*, he sacrificed his *dignitas*, let us remember that after all he was really not so much a politician as a man of letters forced to take part in politics, by reason of the extraordinary and singular position in which his amazing literary gifts placed him, and at a time when the political atmosphere was terribly overcharged. Let us remember that it was only when the cause of Pompeius seemed desperate that Cicero's whole heart went out to him. When Pompeius left Brundisium, and embarked for Greece, Cæsar thought it

* Fam. vii. 2, 4 (clxxxii.).

would be a favourable time to secure the allegiance of Cicero. He hastened to communicate to him the news. But Cicero was not a man to espouse the winning side because it was victorious. It was the ruin of Pompeius that drew Cicero to him closer than ever. 'I never wanted to share his prosperity; would that I had shared his downfall,' are his words to Atticus at this crisis.* And, above all, let us not forget, that if in this period of his anxious and troubled life Cicero seems to have sacrificed honour to tranquillity, the time came when he willingly resigned not only a life of ease, but life itself, to save his honour. Cato was not the first Roman in whose eyes the vanquished found more favour than the victorious cause.

II.—LITERARY.

CICERO AND HIS CORRESPONDENTS.

Whatever may be said about the political aspect of Cicero during the years between his restoration and his departure for his province, Cilicia, it cannot be denied that as a *litterateur* his charm is irresistible. In all his political anxieties we never miss the happy quotation, the epigrammatic phrase, the apt literary and historical allusion. The heavy rains that followed the acquittal of Gabinius remind him (Ep. clvi.) of the sublime passage of Homer (*Il.* xvi. 385), when he tells how Zeus 'sendeth down exceeding great rain on men, for that he is wroth because they judge perverse judgments, and put righteousness utterly away, not having the fear of God before them.' The reserve of Pompeius makes it necessary to qualify every statement about his views with *ut loquebatur*, which suggests to him the refrain of Phocylides, καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδου. In arguing Trebatius out of his home-keeping proclivities he refers to a celebrated speech of Medea to the dames of Corinth, 214 ff., and gives a strange interpretation to the Euripidean passage, or rather the Ennian version of it. Some of his quotations from lost plays are, quite unintelligible to us now, as, for instance, his

* Att. ix. 12, 4.

allusion to the *Συνδείπνους Σοφοκλέους* in cxlvii. 3 ; but no doubt they are as apt as those which we understand. In telling how he played off his Publius (Vatinius) against the senate's Publius (Clodius), he makes a most happy use of Gnatho's advice in the *Eunuch*, and he defends his conduct by clever, but rather strained, appeals to Plato. His quotations from Homer and the old Roman poets are very numerous, and always singularly appropriate.

Many happy phrases of this chief of phrase-mongers have already been quoted, or will be quoted in the sequel. The following are good examples of his lighter vein—I refer to the pages of this edition to promote facility of reference :—

‘I am tired of surgery ; I am beginning a treatment by *régime*, p. 13. ‘A letter does not blush,’ 51. ‘He was so attached to his country, that I think it was the mercy of God which spared him the sight of its holocaust,’ 57. ‘Since Tyrannio arranged my books my house seems to have got a soul,’ 63. ‘Pompeius has in the archives of his pocket-book as long a list of consuls to be as of consuls that have been,’ 76. The Sicilian is a writer of the first rank, terse, sagacious, concise, almost a Thucydides in little,’ 116. ‘If the election comes off without bribery, it will show that the influence of Cato outweighs the Statute Book and the Bench together,’ 128. ‘You are too impatient. You want to make your fortune, and return from Gaul at once. One would think my letter of introduction to Caesar was a draft on him payable at sight,’ 138. ‘The house, in its present unadorned state, is like some sober moralist placed there to reproach the other villas for their frivolity,’ 145. ‘The place is so clothed with ivy that the statues between the columns seem to have taken to fancy gardening, and to be telling us to admire the ivy,’ 146. ‘I do not know what will become of Gabinius ; but I don’t see how the country can hold him,’ 161. ‘Your most formidable rival is the magnificence of the hopes formed of your future,’ 223.

For whole letters of rare beauty and skill I would recommend especially those to Luceius (cix.), to Marius (cxxvii.), to Caesar (cxxxiv.) ; and for the more jocose vein all the letters to Trebatius, though the constant play on judicial terms, such as *cavere*, *respondere*, *sapere*, becomes tiresome. Perhaps Cicero was desirous of displaying his knowledge of law ; the more so, perhaps, because it does not seem to have been very sound.

The letters of Part IV. present to us a most vivid picture of Roman life during the closing scenes of the Republic. This was an epoch at which there began to exist something like what we now call society. The old Roman lived at home, or in the Forum.

Now we begin to see the dawn of the *beau monde*. It is an era of *salons*, dinner-parties, *bons mots*, intrigues. At the same time the streets are the arena of daily conflicts, one might almost say massacres, which would seem incompatible with even the rudest form of civilization. 'You remember,' says Cicero (*pro Sest.* § 77), 'how the Tiber was full of corpses, and the public sewers choked, and how the blood had to be swabbed up with sponges in the Forum.' Not only a gay Curio or Caelius, on his way to an evening of gambling or drinking at the house of Clodia, or her lover Catullus, but a staid consular, on his way to the Senate, would, if he valued his life, arm himself to the teeth, and call out his gang of gladiators (*operae, manus, λόχος*), to force his passage through the streets. A man would have to take as much precaution about his arms and his bodyguard in going from the Forum to the Palatine as would now be needed in preparing for an expedition into the interior of Africa. On November 11, as Cicero was walking along the *Via Sacra*, an attack was made on him, which might have proved fatal to him had he not been attended by an unusually strong gang of ruffians. Cicero observes that his followers, without difficulty, repelled the roughs of Clodius, adding 'Clodius might easily have been killed, but I am tired of surgical treatment; I am beginning to try *régime*.' He seems to think it necessary to explain why he did not let his followers proceed to extremities. In the same letter he prophesies that Clodius will fall by the hand of Milo, as he afterwards did in the fray which he merrily calls 'the battle of Bovillae' and 'the battle of Leuctra.'* Clodius, we are told, when he goes about the streets, has with him 'picked troops of runaway slaves.' On one occasion they raised such a tumult on the steps of the *Curia* that the Senate was obliged to adjourn. On another the Clodian gang 'began to spit on our followers' (cii. § 2). In the same letter we find Pompeius hinting pretty broadly in the Senate that Crassus had formed a plan to take his life. Indeed, such an act seemed at this time a very natural way of emphasizing a difference of opinion. When Talleyrand was told of the assassination of the Emperor Paul, he said, 'I understand that is the constitutional mode of

* For more than two years Milo had been 'looking for Clodius,' as they say in Texas: xcii. 5.

abdicating in Russia.' And at Rome at this period to assassinate a political opponent seemed a far simpler method than to endeavour to convert him to one's views. Cicero speaks* of the operations against Clodius in words which would be suitable to the description of a regular campaign—'Pompeius is getting hands from the country. Clodius is strengthening his gangs too. A force is being organized for the struggle of the 17th. But we are much better prepared for it than he is; and we are expecting a strong reinforcement from Picenum and Gaul, to resist Cato's motions about Lentulus and Milo.' Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the wordy warfare in the Senate ran high. No one seems to have thought it indecorous in Cicero to use such terms as 'swine,' 'ordure,' 'carrion,' about his political opponents.

And the pastimes of the people furnished but a *replica* of the bloody scenes of the Forum. Bloodshed was the play, as well as the work, of Rome. Pliny tells us (viii. 7) that Pompeius, in the dedication of his theatre and the temple of Venus Victrix, delighted the people with spectacles on a scale of more than common magnificence. The most interesting feature was, as usual, the *venatio*, or man and beast fight. On this occasion five hundred lions and twenty elephants were killed. It seems that the piteous bearing and terrified trumpeting of the elephants, when they found escape impossible, touched even the callous mob in the circus so much, that 'forgetful of the *Imperator* and the great munificence of the show, they rose up in a body, and, with streaming eyes, cursed Pompeius.' Cicero, in a remarkable letter to Marius, (Fam. vii. 1, cxvii.), condemns and sneers at these performances. He commends his friend for preferring the country.

'You, in your study, with your books about you, enjoyed the distant view of Misenum, and all the beauties of the Bay of Naples; those who came to Rome for the show had a very near view indeed of farces that they nodded over. We are at the mercy of Lord Chamberlain Tarpa, and have to put up with any rubbish that he calls a play. Then, as to the beast-baiting, what pleasure can a man of any culture feel in seeing a helpless human being mangled by a mighty beast, or a fine brute spitted on a lance. The show, whatever may be one's opinion about the *morale* of such spectacles, at all events had no novelty about it. The last day was reserved for the elephants.

* cii. § 4.

The mob were greatly astonished, but did not enjoy it. Indeed, a sense of the pathetic character of the scene prevailed, and a feeling that the huge beast has a kind of kinship with man.'

Writing of the same event, Dio Cassius (xxxix. 38) says—

'In five days five hundred lions were used up (*ἀναλώθησαν*), and eighteen elephants were put to fight with armed soldiers. Some of the elephants were butchered on the spot, but some were spared to die of their wounds. For much to the surprise of Pompeius, some of them touched the hearts of the spectators. When they were wounded so badly that they had to give up the fight, they went round the arena, raising their trunks to heaven, and uttering cries so piteous as to make it seem that they were not without meaning, but were intended as appeals to the gods for vengeance for the broken vows, on the faith of which they had crossed over from Libya. The story is, that they would not embark without a pledge on oath from their drivers that they should not be ill-treated. Whether this is true or not I cannot say. It has been stated before now, that they not only understand the language of their native country, but are so cognizant of the movements of the heavenly bodies, that at the time of new moon, before the crescent becomes visible, they betake themselves to running water, and there perform a solemn ablution.'

Perhaps it was some such ignorant superstition that moved the mob, usually so callous to scenes of blood. We cannot fail to call to mind the extravagant sentiment which was recently evoked among the lower classes in London by the rational-seeming demeanour of a huge elephant which appeared loth to leave England for America, and the romantic tales that were told of the creature's constancy and affection. Cicero has been commended for his condemnation of these brutalizing spectacles; but I fear we must regard the letter rather as a piece of clever rhetoric on a thesis propounded to him, than as the expression of his real opinion. These are its concluding words:—

'I have made this a longer letter than usual, not because I have plenty of leisure, but by reason of my love for you. You gave me a kind of challenge, if you remember, in a letter of yours, to write you something to make you not regret having missed the games. If I have succeeded in this, I am glad of it; if I have failed, then I have at least this consolation: you will come to the games next time, and then you will see me, and not leave your chance of getting amusement out of the games at the mercy of a communication from me.'

The letters to Quintus, the two remaining books of which are included in this instalment of the correspondence, are full of inte-

rest, and are not so familiar to most readers as those to Atticus and to his friends at large. He says he likes to let his letters to his brother ramble on (*alucinari*), just as their talk did when they were together. We read, for instance, in Ep. cxxxii. § 2, that the people of Tenedos petitioned for Home Rule. The refusal of the Senate was peremptory. 'Tenedian Home Rule,' says Cicero, 'was cut down by a Tenedian axe.' The 'Tenedian axe,' which in that island was immediately applied to the condemned, was proverbial for any 'short, sharp, and decisive' measure. Every little piece of gossip which may serve as a peg on which to hang a joke or a smart phrase finds a place in his correspondence with his brother and his more intimate friends. Hence great difficulties encounter us in these epistles. We need not be surprised that some of these puzzles still defy the sagacity of commentators, when we know that Cicero himself sometimes failed to interpret a dark saying in a missive from Atticus, and sometimes has to own that he had himself employed such a covert phrase that he could hardly have expected his correspondent to decipher his meaning. This caution is especially observable in his correspondence with his brother and Atticus. In Ep. cxliii., in hinting at the infamous compact in which the candidate consuls and existing consuls engaged in the end of the year 700 (54), he writes, 'what the compact is I dare not trust a letter to tell.' He says to his brother (cxlviii. § 21): 'my letters to you as a rule contain nothing which could cause us any embarrassment if they fell into the hands of anyone else.' In clix. 2, he writes:—

'Again I must warn you not to trust to a letter any communication which might make trouble for us. Many and many a thing I would rather not hear of at all than risk a danger to hear of it.'

Accordingly, when he deals with delicate matters, Cicero often clothes his thoughts in enigmatic phrase, which we know sometimes puzzled even those to whom his letters were addressed. It is really amazing that there are so few absolutely inexplicable passages in them, when we remember that we have to interpret them almost always without even possessing the letters which replied to them, or to which they were replies.

In a very interesting letter to his brother, in which he assures

him that things 'are in a condition of profound calm, but it is the calm of decrepitude, not repose', he shows how, in the hopeless condition of public affairs, he finds his only consolation in his correspondence with Cæsar :—

'I have received,' he writes to his brother (cxli.), 'a letter from Cæsar crammed (*refertas*) with courtesy, sympathy, and kindness, in which he assures me that he is delighted to have you with him in Gaul, and that it will be his business to make me, in all my regret for being parted from you, feel glad that, as you are away, you are with him rather than anyone else.' 'Perhaps,' Cicero goes on to say, 'my case will be like that of the traveller who, having overslept himself, makes such good speed that he reaches his destination before those who were up betimes.'

It is amusing to read (cxlvii.) how he fears the dangers which may await his brother in attempting to effect a landing on the 'rampired' coast of savage Britain, and how he tells Atticus (cxliv. 7) that 'there is not a scruple of silver in the whole island, and no prospect of booty except in the way of slaves, and these quite illiterate, and ignorant of music.' Not a chance of a Dionysius or a Phemius—mere savages! And the whirligig of time has so brought in his revenges that the remote descendants of these savages now feel perhaps a greater interest in these very letters than was felt even by Quintus, Atticus, or Trebatius, when they received them.

During a portion of the period embraced in this part of the correspondence Quintus was in Sardinia, but for most of the time he was with Cæsar in Gaul. His splendid defence of his camp against an apparently irresistible force is a notable incident in Roman history. The disaster which overtook Cotta and Sabinus, and the heroism of the troops under Quintus Cicero, remind the reader forcibly of Isandula and Rorke's Drift. I quote the narrative of Mr. Froude, which is characteristically powerful as a piece of writing, and would indeed be perfect if he could have resisted the unworthy sneer at Marcus conveyed in the last words :—

'If one Roman camp was taken, Induciomarus calculated that the country would rise; the others could be separately surrounded, and Gaul would be free. The plot was well laid. An entrenched camp being difficult to storm, the confederates decided to begin by treachery. Ambiorix was personally

known to many of the Roman officers. He sent to Sabinus to say that he wished to communicate with him on a matter of the greatest consequence. An interview being granted, he stated that a general conspiracy had been formed through the whole of Gaul to surprise and destroy the legions. Each station was to be attacked on the same day, that they might be unable to support each other. He pretended himself to have remonstrated; but his tribe, he said, had been carried away by the general enthusiasm for liberty, and he could not keep them back. Vast bodies of Germans had crossed the Rhine to join in the war. In two days at the furthest they would arrive. He was under private obligations to Cæsar, who had rescued his son and nephew in the fight with the Aduatuci, and out of gratitude he wished to save Sabinus from destruction, which was otherwise inevitable. He urged him to escape while there was still time, and to join either Labienus or Cicero, giving a solemn promise that he should not be molested on the road.

‘A council of officers was held on the receipt of this unwelcome information. It was thought unlikely that the Eburones would rise by themselves. It was probable enough, therefore, that the conspiracy was more extensive. Cotta, who was second in command, was of opinion that it would be rash and wrong to leave the camp without Cæsar’s orders. They had abundant provisions. They could hold their own lines against any force which the Germans could bring upon them, and help would not be long in reaching them. It would be preposterous to take so grave a step on the advice of an enemy. Sabinus unfortunately thought differently. He had been over-cautious in Brittany, though he had afterwards redeemed his fault. Cæsar, he persuaded himself, had left the country; each commander therefore must act on his own responsibility. The story told by Ambiorix was likely in itself. The Germans were known to be furious at the passage of the Rhine, the destruction of Ariovistus, and their other defeats. Gaul resented the loss of its independence. Ambiorix was acting like a true friend, and it would be madness to refuse his offer. Two days’ march would bring them to their friends. If the alarm was false, they could return. If there was to be a general insurrection, the legions could not be too speedily brought together. If they waited, as Cotta advised, they would be surrounded, and in the end would be starved into surrender.

‘Cotta was not convinced, and the majority of officers supported him. The first duty of a Roman army, he said, was obedience to orders. Their business was to hold the post which had been committed to them, till they were otherwise directed. The officers were consulting in the midst of the camp, surrounded by the legionaries. “Have it as you wish,” Sabinus exclaimed, in a tone which the men could hear; “I am not afraid of being killed. If things go amiss, the troops will understand where to lay the blame. If you allowed it they might in forty-eight hours be at the next quarters, facing the chances of war with their comrades, instead of perishing here alone by sword or hunger.”

‘Neither party would give way. The troops joined in the discussion. They were willing either to go or to stay, if their commanders would agree;

but they said that it must be one thing or the other ; disputes would be certain ruin. The discussion lasted till midnight. Sabinus was obstinate; Cotta at last withdrew his opposition, and the fatal resolution was formed to march at dawn. The remaining hours of the night were passed by the men in collecting such valuables as they wished to take with them. Everything seemed ingeniously done to increase the difficulty of remaining, and to add to the perils of the march by the exhaustion of the troops. The Meuse lay between them and Labienus, so they had selected to go to Cicero at Charleroy. Their course lay up the left bank of the little river *Geer*. Trusting to the promises of Ambiorix, they started in loose order, followed by a long train of carts and wagons. The Eburones lay, waiting for them, in a large valley, two miles from the camp. When most of the cohorts were entangled in the middle of the hollow, the enemy appeared suddenly, some in front, some on both sides of the valley, some behind threatening the baggage. Wise men, as Cæsar says, anticipate possible difficulties, and decide beforehand what they will do if occasions arise. Sabinus had foreseen nothing, and arranged nothing. Cotta, who had expected what might happen, was better prepared, and did the best that was possible. The men had scattered among the wagons, each to save or protect what he could. Cotta ordered them back, bade them leave the carts to their fate, and form together in a ring. He did right, Cæsar thought ; but the effect was unfortunate. The troops lost heart, and the enemy was encouraged, knowing that the baggage would only be abandoned when the position was desperate. The Eburones were under good command. They did not, as might have been expected, fly upon the plunder. They stood to their work, well aware that the carts would not escape them. They were not in great numbers. Cæsar specially says that the Romans were as numerous as they. But everything else was against the Romans. Sabinus could give no directions. They were in a narrow meadow, with wooded hills on each side of them filled with enemies whom they could not reach. When they charged, the light-footed barbarians ran back ; when they retired, they closed in upon them again, and not a dart, an arrow, or a stone missed its mark among the crowded cohorts. Bravely as the Romans fought, they were in a trap where their courage was useless to them. The battle lasted from dawn till the afternoon, and though they were falling fast, there was no flinching and no cowardice. Cæsar, who inquired particularly into the minutest circumstances of the disaster, records by name the officers who distinguished themselves ; he mentions one whose courage he had marked before, who was struck down with a lance through his thighs, and another who was killed in rescuing his son. The brave Cotta was hit in the mouth by a stone as he was cheering on his men. The end came at last. Sabinus, helpless and distracted, caught sight of Ambiorix in the confusion, and sent an interpreter to implore him to spare the remainder of the army. Ambiorix answered, that Sabinus might come to him, if he pleased ; he hoped he might persuade his tribe to be merciful ; he promised that Sabinus himself should suffer no injury. Sabinus asked Cotta to accompany him. Cotta said he would never surrender to an armed

enemy; and, wounded as he was, he stayed with the legion. Sabinus, followed by the rest of the surviving officers whom he ordered to attend him, proceeded to the spot where the chief was standing. They were commanded to lay down their arms. They obeyed, and were immediately killed; and with one wild yell the barbarians then rushed in a mass on the deserted cohorts. Cotta fell, and most of the others with him. The survivors, with the eagle of the legion, which they had still faithfully guarded, struggled back in the dusk to their deserted camp. The standard-bearer, surrounded by enemies, reached the fosse, flung the eagle over the rampart, and fell with the last effort. Those that were left fought on till night, and then, seeing that hope was gone, died like Romans on each other's swords—a signal illustration of the Roman greatness of mind, which had died out among the degenerate patricians, but was living in all its force in Cæsar's legions. A few stragglers, who had been cut off during the battle from their comrades, escaped in the night through the woods, and carried the news to Labienus. Cicero, at Charleroy, was left in ignorance. The roads were beset, and no messenger could reach him.

‘Induciomarus understood his countrymen. The conspiracy with which he had frightened Sabinus had not as yet extended beyond a few northern chiefs, but the success of Ambiorix produced the effect which he desired. As soon as it was known that two Roman generals had been cut off, the remnants of the Aduatuci and the Nervii were in arms for their own revenge. The smaller tribes along the Meuse and Sambre rose with them; and Cicero, taken by surprise, found himself surrounded before he had a thought of danger. The Gauls, knowing that their chances depended on the capture of the second camp before assistance could arrive, flung themselves so desperately on the entrenchments that the legionaries were barely able to repel the first assault. The assailants were driven back at last, and Cicero despatched messengers to Cæsar to Amiens, to give him notice of the rising; but not a man was able to penetrate through the multitude of enemies which now swarmed in the woods. The troops worked gallantly, strengthening the weak points of their fortifications. In one night they raised a hundred and twenty towers on their walls. Again the Gauls tried a storm, and, though they failed a second time, they left the garrison no rest either by day or night. There was no leisure for sleep; not a hand could be spared from the lines to care for the sick or wounded. Cicero was in bad health, but he clung to his work till the men carried him by force to his tent and obliged him to lie down. The first surprise not having succeeded, the Nervian chiefs, who knew Cicero, desired a parley. They told the same story which Ambiorix had told, that the Germans had crossed the Rhine, and that all Gaul was in arms. They informed him of the destruction of Sabinus; they warned him that the same fate was hanging over himself, and that his only hope was in surrender. They did not wish, they said, to hurt either him or the Roman people; he and his troops would be free to go where they pleased, but they were determined to prevent the legions from quartering themselves permanently in their country.

‘There was but one Sabinus in the Roman army. Cicero answered with a

spirit worthy of his country, that Romans accepted no conditions from enemies in arms. The Gauls might, if they pleased, send a deputation to Cæsar, and hear what he would say to them. For himself, he had no authority to listen to them. Force and treachery being alike unavailing, they resolved to starve Cicero out. They had watched the Roman strategy. They had seen and felt the value of the entrenchments. They made a bank and ditch all round the camp, and, though they had no tools but their swords with which to dig turf and cut trees, so many there were of them that the work was completed in three hours. Having thus pinned the Romans in, they slung red-hot balls and flung darts carrying lighted straw over the ramparts of the camp on the thatched roofs of the soldiers' huts. The wind was high, the fire spread, and amidst the smoke and the blaze the Gauls again rushed on from all sides to the assault. Roman discipline was never more severely tried, and never showed its excellence more signally. The houses and stores of the soldiers were in flames behind them. The enemy were pressing on the walls in front, covered by a storm of javelins and stones and arrows, but not a man left his post to save his property or to extinguish the fire. They fought as they stood, striking down rank after rank of the Gauls, who still crowded on, trampling on the bodies of their companions, as the foremost lines fell dead into the ditch. Such as reached the wall never left it alive, for they were driven forward by the throng behind on the swords of the legionaries. Thousands of them had fallen before: in desperation, they drew back at last.

'But Cicero's situation was almost desperate too. The huts were destroyed. The majority of the men were wounded, and those able to bear arms were daily growing weaker in number. Cæsar was 120 miles distant, and no word had reached him of the danger. Messengers were again sent off, but they were caught one after another, and were tortured to death in front of the ramparts, and the boldest men shrank from risking their lives on so hopeless an enterprise. At length a Nervian slave was found to make another adventure. He was a Gaul, and could easily disguise himself. A letter to Cæsar was enclosed in the shaft of his javelin. He glided out of the camp in the dark, passed undetected among the enemies as one of themselves, and, escaping from their lines, made his way to Amiens.

'Swiftmess of movement was Cæsar's distinguishing excellence. The legions were kept ready to march at an hour's notice. He sent an order to Crassus to join him instantly from Montdidier. He sent to Fabius at St. Pol to meet him at Arras. He wrote to Labienus, telling him the situation, and leaving him to his discretion to advance or to remain on his guard at Lavacherie, as might seem most prudent. Not caring to wait for the rest of his army, and leaving Crassus to take care of Amiens, he started himself, the morning after the information reached him, with Trebonius's legion to Cicero's relief. Fabius joined him, as he had been directed, at Arras. He had hoped for Labienus's presence also; but Labienus sent to say that he was surrounded by the Treveri, and dared not stir. Cæsar approved his hesitation, and with but two legions, amounting in all to only 7,000 men, he hurried forward to the

Nervian border. Learning that Cicero was still holding out, he wrote a letter to him in Greek, that it might be unintelligible if intercepted, to tell him that help was near. A Gaul carried the letter, and fastened it by a line to his javelin, which he flung over Cicero's rampart. The javelin stuck in the side of one of the towers, and was unobserved for several days. The besiegers were better informed. They learnt that Cæsar was at hand; that he had but a handful of men with him. By that time their own numbers had risen to 60,000, and, leaving Cicero to be dealt with at leisure, they moved off to envelope and destroy their great enemy. Cæsar was well served by spies. He knew that Cicero was no longer in immediate danger, and there was thus no occasion for him to risk a battle at a disadvantage to relieve him. When he found the Gauls near him, he encamped, drawing his lines as narrowly as he could, that from the small show which he made they might imagine his troops to be even fewer than they were. He invited attack by an ostentation of timidity, and having tempted the Gauls to become the assailants, he flung open his gates, rushed out upon them with his whole force, and all but annihilated them. The patriot army was broken to pieces, and the unfortunate Nervii and Aduatuci never rallied from this second blow. Cæsar could then go at his leisure to Cicero and his comrades, who had fought so nobly against such desperate odds. In every ten men he found that there was but one unwounded. He inquired with minute curiosity into every detail of the siege. In a general address he thanked Cicero and the whole legion. He thanked the officers man by man for their gallantry and fidelity. Now for the first time (and that he could have remained ignorant of it so long speaks for the passionate unanimity with which the Gauls had risen) he learnt from prisoners the fate of Sabinus. He did not underrate the greatness of the catastrophe. The soldiers in the army he treated always as friends and comrades in arms, and the loss of so many of them was as personally grievous to him as the effects of it might be politically mischievous. He made it the subject of a second speech to his own and to Cicero's troops, but he spoke to encourage and to console. A serious misfortune had happened, he said, through the fault of one of his generals, but it must be borne with equanimity, and had already been heroically expiated. The meeting with Cicero must have been an interesting one. He and the two Ciceros had been friends and companions in youth. It would have been well if Marcus Tullius could have remembered in the coming years the personal exertion with which Cæsar had rescued a brother to whom he was so warmly attached.'

Two other interesting correspondents of Cicero make their first appearance in Part iv. These are Trebatius and Curio. Trebatius was a rising young jurisconsult.* But, as *responsa* were

* Trebatius was about thirty-five years of age. When Cicero calls him *vetule* in Fam. viii. 16, the expression is playful, like 'old boy'; or perhaps it is designed to convey that he had an old head on young shoulders—a view which the context seems to favour.

given gratuitously in Rome, the profession of a jurisconsult was not a royal road to fortune. Cicero, whose interest in young men of promise is not the least pleasing among many charming qualities, thought that he could not do better for his friend than send him to Cæsar. The unknown countries which Cæsar was opening up seemed to his contemporaries an El Dorado, and appealed to the imagination of young Romans as America did to the more enterprising spirits of the sixteenth century. Trebatius seems, from certain hints dropped by Cicero, to have been by no means of a martial temperament;* so we are not surprised to find that he was not enamoured of his experiences in the camp of Cæsar. I have already referred to the admirable letter in which Cicero puts Trebatius out of his hand into the hand of Cæsar, that hand 'unrivalled whether it is heavy on the foe, or firm in the clasp of friendship'.† This

‘Truest friend, and noblest foe’,

was not unmindful of him whom Cicero recommended. There is reason to believe that Trebatius returned to Rome a rich man, though it required all the resources of Cicero, in persuasion and bantering, to induce him to stay in that cold country which the Atrebates and Nervii were so very well disposed to make warm enough for him (clxi. 2). Cicero was destined soon to learn for himself how hard it was for a Roman to act on the advice which he gives his friend, ‘Do conquer that weak hankering after the city and its life’. Cicero, in Cilicia, pines for Rome, as a modern Frenchman for Paris. ‘I cannot express to you’, he writes to Atticus,‡ ‘how I am consumed with longing for the town, and how intolerably insipid is this provincial life’.

The burthen of his advice to Trebatius is—

‘Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits’;

but he does not fail to impress on him how necessary it was that he should do something for himself, and how ignominious it would be to return empty-handed—Laberius would make a farce on him, and his rival, Valerius, would crow over him. Trebatius lived

* Fam. vii. 18 (clxxiii.).

† cxxxiv. *fin.*

‡ Att. v. 11, 1.

through the troublous times of the Civil War, and afterwards enjoyed the friendship of Horace, who addresses to him one of his Satires. He forms, as Gaston Boissier remarks, a sort of link between the Ciceronian and Augustan age. 'Il pouvait parler de Lucrèce à Virgile, de Cicéron à Tite-Live, de Catulle à Properce.'

C. Scribonius Curio was at this time Quaestor to Clodius in Asia. He was a young man of great brilliancy and promise—a Roman Alcibiades. 'You have a serious rival,' says Cicero to him 'in the magnificence of the hopes formed about your future.' We read in a former letter (Ep. xlv.) that Curio was the mainstay of the Optimates. It is strange that his conspicuous profligacy (Cicero nicknames him *filiola Curionis*) does not prevent the future author of the *De Officiis* from addressing him in the language of esteem and affection. Velleius Paterculus says that with Curio profligacy was a fine art (*ingeniosissime nequam*). Lucan, on the other hand, writes of him—

Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma
Aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti;

and again,

Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum.

He lavished such vast sums of money on public spectacles, that he plunged himself in hopeless difficulties, from which he emerged only by selling his support to Cæsar, who paid his debts. He died in an engagement with the troops of Juba and P. Attius Varus in Africa.

III.—CRITICAL.

§ 1. MSS. OF FAM. I.-VIII. INDEPENDENT OF M.

The criticism of the first eight books of the Epp. ad Familiares has been advanced to quite a new level by the publication of an exhaustive treatise on the subject by Oscar Streicher of Jena (De Ciceronis Epistolis ad Familiares emendandis) in the *Commentationes Philologae Ienenses* (Teubner, 1884). What follows in this section is mainly taken from his treatise, with some subsidiary assistance derived from Thurot's account and collation of the Turonensis, referred to in vol. i. p. 79, and from a Paper on the

criticism of the Epp. ad Familiares in *Hermathena* (vol. xi. p. 277 *sqq.*). Anyone wishing to study the whole question exhaustively, and in detail, must turn to these discussions, especially to Streicher's, which he will find full of interest and instruction.

Of the Turonensis (T) some account has already been given in vol. i. (ed. 2) p. 78. But there is another ms of the same family as T, which Rühl found in Paris. It is Parisinus 178¹² (Fonds de Notre Dame 178),* which begins, *Dialogus tullii ad ortensium liber i° magnum ingenium lucii luculli 46^b explicit liber iii° de natura deorum*. (Might this ms possibly add to our knowledge of the Hortensius? The words 'magnum ingenium lucii luculli,' do not appear in the fragments of that dialogue in Nobbe's edition), De Fato, Epp. ad Fam., Dares Phrygius, and some other documents. It is a parchment ms, in double columns, of the twelfth century. The Epp. ad Fam. run from i. 1. 1 to viii. 8. 6 (133. 20,† Orelli) *intercedendi impediendi moram*. The first letters of each epistle were originally in black, afterwards altered to red ink. Most of the corrections are by a later hand than the copyist.

The Parisinus (P) is in close connexion with the Turonensis: witness agreement in the following errors:—*neque valde repugnabant . . . valebant omitted* (4. 32); *agi om.* (5. 13); *summo studio dolore* (6. 19); *nec si quid . . . videamur* (6. 36); *fortassequer plerisque* (8. 23); *videatur (for perspicere)* (8. 43); *ipsum om.* (12. 14); *ut mihi om.* (14. 25); *perreprehendendi* (15. 24); *solum (for modo)* (16. 12); *mente (for fronte)* (16. 38); *idque* (16. 38); *to pari* (17. 35) *transposed after mons* (27. 18); *meque tum cepisse denique* (18. 9); *pertimescas ea scripsi* (19. 19); *et propter latrocinia et propter longinquitatem* (26. 20); *in duo om.* (59. 30); *etiamsi . . . necessitate om.* (61. 28); *primum . . . tuum om.* (68. 5); *consilio (for silentio)* (72. 9); *divinabam om.* (88. 33); *107. 6 laniatur . . . bestia om.* (107. 6); *quam . . . hunc om.* (108. 10); *tantum om.* (109. 28); *profectionem . . . tardare om.* (110. 13); *quidam mirificus* (110. 16); *consilio aut om.* (113. 12); *consenserunt* (114. 26); *perhibentur* (115. 3); *maximam . . . se om.* (117. 19).

T and P, accordingly, may fairly be said to have a close connexion with one another; but the connexion is not that of parent

* All the information concerning Parisinus, is taken from Streicher, pp. 106 *sq.*

† Reference is almost always to the page and line of Orelli's edition, 1845.

and child (to use the well-worn but expressive metaphor of criticism), but that of brothers.

We cannot say that T is copied from P, for we find, among many others, the following *errors* in P, which are not in T:—*separasti* (*for sperasti*) (10. 18); *scribam* (*for scribebam*) (75. 29); *occupo* (*for occupatio*) (76. 2); *commutabitur* (*for communicabitur*) (81. 12); *perdidissem* (*for pertulissem*) (101. 40). And the following *omissions* in P, which are not in T:—*illius* . . . *pari* (17. 34); *possis* (20. 27); *atque amantissime* (31. 34); *ni vererer* (93. 21); *providerim* (93. 26).

Nor is P copied from T; for besides the fact that T ends at 124. 9, while P does not end till 133. 20, we find, among others, the following *errors* in T, which are not in P:—*sicce* (*for fictae*) (6. 1); *unde* (*for unum*) (8. 13); *vestrae* (*for tuae*) (8. 29); *illius* (*for illa*) (8. 34); *terram* (*for certam*) (9. 17). And the following *omissions*:—*interpositam* (9. 17); *nomen* (12. 14); *a seditioso* (16. 1); *senatu* (17. 21); *latebris* . . . *haec* (31. 12); *lacrimaeque* . . . *tuae* (100. 11).

Let us now turn to the Harleian ms, No. 2773. It is a ms containing—1^a, a Latin Greek Lexicon, of about 1550 words; 5^a, Diomedes (in very small writing); 32^a, Cicero ad Familiares, i.-viii. 9; 60^b, a middle-age Latin poem about some Pope Johannes. The Epistolae ad Familiares are all in correct order, but ii. 9 is inserted a second time after viii. 5. The Epistles run from i. 1. 1 to viii. 9. 3, *si ullam spem* (135. 24) (breaking off suddenly in the middle of a page of the ms), with the exception of *non solum* (18. 4), *to es consecutus* (21. 16). This break does not occur at the end of a page; there are two more lines in the page, and those two lines are the words at 21. 16 *sq.* There are *indices* to Books III., IV., V., VI., VIII. There is no sign that a new book begins at VII. Of VIII. the index is only of the first nine letters, i.e. as far as the ms goes. The nature of the writing and the spelling have led all the experts who have consulted the ms to the opinion that it belongs to the twelfth century. The initial letter of each epistle is in capitals, and in black ink. There are a good many corrections by a second hand, generally either omissions being supplied, or superfluous words which had got inserted being underlined. It has glosses in three places—*id uelim diprodii approbent* (34. 17); *et sic*

si illa *proprium nomen fuit illa* uoluit, 49. 14; apud macium *urbem* cilonem (with *urbem* underlined), 63. 9.

None of the errors which have been noted above as existing in either T or P are found in H. As we have not a full collation of P, we cannot be certain how far H may be different; but there can be little doubt that we should find the difference pretty considerable. For P is, as we saw, closely allied to T, and from the collation of T, which we possess, we are enabled to judge of the relation of H to that ms.

Now it is quite impossible that H was copied from T, because the latter leaves out all after *sestiana in* (124. 9), and from ii. 16. 4, *hac orbis* (31. 35), to iv. 3, fin. *colat* (54. 44); and even in the parts found in both mss, H preserves the right reading in a vast number of instances. To take 11 out of a list of 272 passages where T *omits* the right reading, and H retains, is:—*neque valde . . . volebant* (4. 32, 33); *nec . . . videamur* (6. 36); *vel in remunerando* (24. 2); *latebris . . . nostra* (32. 12, 13); *ea perspicias . . . non minus* (56. 29–31); *-ri (in oppugnari) . . . istum* (68. 5, 6); *ego quae . . . sum* (70. 26, 27); *utantur* (73. 16); *qua . . . re* (95. 19); *me . . . fieri* (97. 37, 38); *maximam ranunculorum se* (117. 19). That the copyist of H could by any means have emended such passages as these is out of the question. He copies what he finds before him, generally giving words which are Latin, but which often make no sort of sense; such as—*ut rome minus deceat uti non intellegat cerne. Tecum per litteras*, which we find in H (as in M) for—*utro me minus deceat uti non intellego. Jocerne tecum per litteras* (22. 32, 33). His punctuation, too, is generally quite worthless, e.g. he punctuates (4. 26) *reducerent. secunda hortensii ut tu sine exercitu reduceres tercia volcacii. ut, &c.* In point of literary capacity he is quite on a level with the copyists of the twelfth century, who were not scholars at all (*cf.* Thurot, p. 4).

Again, T was not copied from H. To show this we may take from a list of over 100 erroneous omissions in H, which do not appear in T, the following fifteen:—*facile* (10. 30); *non . . . consecutus* (18. 4–21. 16); *fortuna* (22. 12); *praesenti tum* (26. 18); *meum . . . enim* (31. 7, 8); *cogitanti* (34. 1); *corecyrae* (38. 16); *hoc . . . intellegere* (42. 3, 4); *sin . . . est* (43. 30, 31); *non*

. . . accessissem (52. 5, 6); futura . . . esset (65. 36, 37); fratri . . . sed (69. 7, 8); optatius . . . continentibus (76. 36, 37); vides . . . simus (110. 1, 2); morbum . . . alterum (121. 12).

H and T are then independent of one another; but yet they are not very far separated. In the three cardinal passages, iv. 6. 3; iv. 12. 2; vi. 1. 6, which are especially emphasized by Thurot, as showing the independence of M and T (see vol. i². p. 79), we find H agreeing virtually with T in giving the right reading. This leads us to believe that H is independent of M also; and it remains to give a list of passages in which H T P are all in agreement in the right reading, while M is in error. The list is taken from Streicher, pp. 136-7. For the complete list of correct readings in H, not found in M, reference is made to Streicher (pp. 132-138), and *Hermathena*, xi. 280-282.

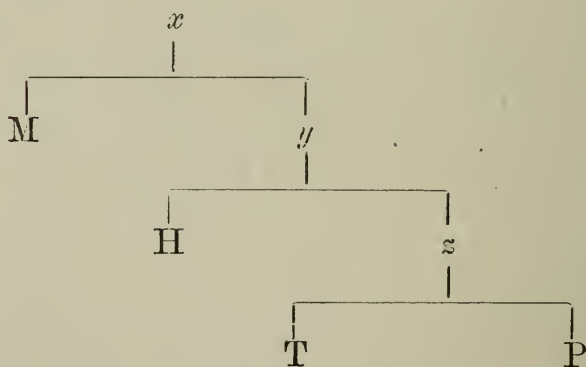
Oportere] optere* (9. 27); se assequi] sed adse qui (10. 27); erit] erat (10. 39); desisterent] destiterent (11. 20); sine nefario] sinefario (12. 17); animum] animumque (14. 15); pugnare] licuisset] pugna reliquisset (15. 28); magnitudine] magtudine (16. 14); defendendi] defendi (17. 22); ab adolescentia] abulescentia (28. 31); malevolorum] malevorum (31. 13); si ad me] si me (34. 36); decederes] decedes (39. 11); et est] et est enim (39. 29); cohortes] cortis (39. 39); Appio] apud (41. 3, and 44. 35); a me] mane (43. 11); profecti sumus] profectissimus (44. 24); suspicio] suscipio (47. 5); intellegam] intellegebam (48. 26); quae a me] quae me (48. 31); tanta] tu ante (49. 22); honoris] oneris (49. 22); temporum] tempus eorum (49. 29); nos] nostro (52. 8); praecepta te] praecepte (52. 19); statutum] statum (53. 29); excellat (excellat P)] expellat (54. 42); prudentie] prudentiae et (55. 15); postquam] potestquam (55. 28); clarissimi] carissimi (57. 17); luctum] lum (58. 25); deesse] dese (59. 37); abesse] esse (59. 42); certe] cer (62. 5); nihil erat novi] nihil novi (62. 9); ut aiebat] ut iebat (63. 5); deterrimo acerbissima] deterromodacerbis suma (63. 17); egregium] aegrium (68. 27); enim a me] enim . . me (70. 16); desiderant] desierant (70. 29); dolentium et] dolentium hominum et (72. 16); eximium] exium (72. 39); adhibere] hibere

* The reading enclosed by the bracket in each case is the correct reading of H T P; the one outside, the erroneous reading of M. Where T is deficient, agreement of H P is implied.

(80. 24); *proposita* (*preposita* T) *sit*] *propositi* (80. 28); *liberis*] *si liberis* (81. 19); *fortissimis*] *formissimis* (82. 9); *nongentis*] *nunc gentis* (85. 16); *fruere*] *fuere* (87. 10); *velit*] *velim* (91. 17); *commorandum*] *commemorandum* (97. 7); *quod spero*] *aut quod spero* (97. 9); *incolumitate*] *columitate* (98. 18); *observabimus*] *observavimus* (98. 40); *fratres et*] *fratre sed* (101. 41); *opperiri* (*opperire* T P)] *opperi* (104. 7); *in quo*] *in eo* (104. 30); *consciscenda*] *conscidenda* (109. 10); *statu tuo*] *statuo* (113. 3); *quae stultis*] *qua est vitis* (122. 21); *ceptus*] *coetus* (132. 20).

It thus appears that there is very good reason for the opinion that H, T, P belong to a different family to M.

Following Streicher, then, we may sum up—that T and P are related, as being both copied from an unknown ms (call it *z*)—that H is in many respects connected with this family, but the relationship is not direct, only collateral. Rather it seems as if H were copied from the same ms as was the original of T and P. This ms, from which H and *z* were copied, is also unknown (call it *y*), which may have been copied from the original archetype of all from which M is taken. Calling this last unknown archetype *x*, we arrive at the genealogical table Streicher has furnished us with, viz. :—



Readers of Graevius are aware of the high terms in which he speaks of a certain ms of his which he calls his ‘*primus*,’ or ‘*optimus*,’ or other such term expressive of value. The identity of this ms with the Harleian is quite certain. As to external evidence we know (*see* Streicher, *Addenda*) that it came into Harley’s possession at the same time as some other mss (notable 2725 of Horace) which had belonged to Graevius. As to internal evidence,

both mss break off at the same words; there is no allusion by Graevius to the 'primus' in the long gap i. 9. 20 (18. 4) to ii. 1 2 (21. 16); and the following (amongst innumerable others) instances of agreement are well worth notice:—favisti *omitted* (9. 40); ego sedente G. N. Pompeio laudaret P. Sestium introiss. (13. 25); recipere licuisset (16. 26); Consuli caelio lucio figulo G. N. Caldo quinto (34. 20); iuget *for* iuvet (35. 10); discessisset, *in margin* decessisset (46. 21); industres (46. 35); epictote (47. 13); maiestas et sic si illa proprium nomen fuit illa voluit (49. 14); omnes tuae et industriae meae fructus (58. 30); discessio *emended to* decessio (62. 14); nihil eis *omitting* -ominus (64. 8); ueuerebare (71. 38); sicut indicas (79. 12); proatio (*sic*) (80. 35); Publio Sestio Publio furio (81. 28); refrigerem (82. 14); quod ego de legato parum grauissime (85. 18); in pecuniae exactu (85. 21); marina (*sic*) (85. 33); in urbe subitata et alte stratio (88. 45); et in siglia (96. 40); cum studium tuum cum summa uirorum fortium memoriae factis propendis (100. 25); spēs . . . adture . . . quando (103. 41); ciuitatissimis (111. 10); quid agas hec quid sit (113. 19); ant i me *for* audi Testa mi (114. 19); a. d. tercias Nonas Mar. Chrysippus Vettius (joining end of vii. 13 to beginning of 14 = 114. 34-37); unum quem *for* nonnunquam (117. 36); ne iconoen EPITIO dy quae asiae *for* Νίκωνος περι πολυφαγίας (118. 17); de tigollio (120. 12); fungos vel uiles herbas (121. 18); ut mihi ueantur (129. 20); incilicia omnia (130. 5); solum solent *with* solum *underlined* (132. 19).

The passages, on the other hand, in which the reading given by Graevius as that of his 'primus,' differs from that of H, are singularly few, when we consider the enormous number of references he makes to his favourite ms. They are in all ninety-six, of which a few samples are added to show how relatively trivial they are:—agantur G (Graevii primus), agatur H (5. 17); excitati G, exercitati H (15. 36); servum Julium G, sexium ilum H (23. 26); Chresti G. heresti H (25. 34); ne nihilo G, de nihilo H (27. 6); ex tuis ut antea G, ex tuis litteris antea H (27. 36); lecticula G, lectula H (107. 29); quam subimpudens G, et subimpudens H (116. 8); nactus si me G, nactissime H (116. 24); si sumpsisset G, cisisumpsisset H (120. 23). These, and all the others, are very slight, due no doubt either to the discrepancies not being

the words Graevius wished to emphasize in his quotations, or to his quoting from memory, or to a certain carelessness. For, as Streicher has remarked (p. 131), Graevius in his notes under the text does not always agree with Graevius in his *Variae Lectiones*, e.g. et os qui te et maxime debuerunt et plurimum iuuare (Graev. *sub text.* = H); eos maxime qui et te amare maxime debuerunt et plurimum iuuare (Graev. *Var. Lect.*) (8. 15); stultitiam fama mulcet (Graev. *sub text.* = H); stultitiam multet (Graev. *Var. Lect.*) (95. 20).

It may be considered quite certain that Graevius' 'primus' and H are identical; and as to the importance of this ms, one may well endorse the judgment of Graevius himself, where he laments (viii. 9. 3 = 135. 24) at his ms breaking off: 'In sequentibus verbis *puto etiam si ullam spem* desinit meus ille praestantissimus et fidissimus codex, qui bonitate nulli eorum cedit quos docti uiri excuserunt, immo omnibus, excepto Mediceo, melior est.' Rühl and Streicher say that it came from the hospital of St. Nicholas at Kues (what is the evidence?). Graevius bought it, he tells us (Praef. p. 3), with his own money in a bookshop in Cologne.

§ 2. THE HARLEIAN CODEX, No. 2682.*

In the notes of the Preface to the volume of Baiter and Kayser's edition of *Cicero*, which contains the *Epp. ad Familiares*, reference is made to two Harleian mss of that work, which Oehler, even as far back as 1839, saw to be independent of the Medicean (M), the acknowledged foundation of the criticism of these letters. The grounds for his opinion, however, do not appear to have been very cogently set forth: at least they failed to convince Baiter. Subsequently Fr. Rühl, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. xxx. (1875), called attention again to these mss, and showed reason why we should consider them not to have been copied from M. But Rühl's paper was very short, a mere excerpt from a letter he wrote to Ritschl. It accordingly occurred to me last year that it would not be inadvisable to collate these mss of the epistles, and

* Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Ser. II., Vol. ii., Pol. Lit. & Antiq., p. 366.

examine them as carefully as my time allowed. This I did ; and the results of the examination of the volume which contains the last eight books of the *Epp. ad Fam.* I am now venturing to lay before the Academy.

The ms is No. 2682 of the Harleian collection, a fine folio in single columns, written on rough parchment. The lines are ruled *à la pointe sèche*. As well as I could judge from undoubted specimens of thirteenth century writing, this ms belongs to that age ; and such is the opinion also of Rühl. The writing is very good and regular, the diphthongs *æ* and *œ* are almost always expressed by plain *e*, the letters *c* and *t* are constantly confused, the words are frequently separated by little strokes inclining towards the left, there are dots over double *i*, the punctuation is very careless—all marks of thirteenth century copying (see Chassant, *Paléographie des Chartes*, p. 96). The ms consists of 192 folia and 25 quaternions. There are 32 lines on a page, and about 82 letters in a line. The handwriting varies on fol. 13, returning to the original hand at fol. 14. It varies to yet a third hand at fol. 32, which continues to fol. 56. Return is then made to the first hand ; and in it the rest of the ms is transcribed. There are few corrections by a second hand in any of the treatises, except the *Philippics*.

On fol. 1a, at the top, we find an entry of the date on which it came into Harley's possession, viz., 20 die mensis Octobris, A.D. 1725. [It was on the same day that he got 2725 (Graevius's well-known ms of Horace), 2773 (the ms, called *Graevii primus*, of the first eight books of the *Epp. ad Fam.*), 4933, 5377, 5378 (correspondence and notes of Graevius). See Streicher, *Comm. Philologae Ienenses*, iii. 212.] After that comes the following table of contents:—

In hoc libro continentur diuersae epistolae Tullii Ciceronis
 Hic Tullius de amicitia et de senectute
 Inuectiua Tullii in Salustium et Salustii in Ciceronem
 In Catilinam tres libri inuectiuarum Tullii
 Paradoxa Stoicorum . liber pro Marco Marcello
 liber pro quinto ligario
 Philiphica Tullii . liber officii.
 Alexander in fine.

As a matter of fact, the works comprised in the volume are:—

- Fol. 1b. Epp. ad Familiares, ix.—xvi.
 52a. Epistola ad Octavianum.
 53a. De Petitione Consulatus.
 57a. De Amicitia.
 64b. De Senectute.
 71a. Philippics.
 113a. Cicero in Sallustium.
 114a. Sallustius in Ciceronem.
 115a. Orationes (four) against Catiline.
 125b. Paradoxa Stoicorum.
 129a. Pro Marcello.
 131a. Pro Ligario.
 134a. Pro rege Deiotaro (to *actate* § 26, 1216.26 Orelli).
 135b. Fulgentius Planciades de abstrusis Sermonibus.
 137b. Pro Marcello.
 140a. Pro Ligario.
 142b. Pro rege Deiotaro.
 146a. Pro Milone.
 153b. De imperio Cn. Pompeii.
 159a. Erf. ms fragment about Milo's case (see Orelli II. p. 1152).
 Verrine III. to § 10 *deprecati*.
 160b. Erf. ms excerpts of Verrine IV.
 164b. De Officiis I.
 177b. De Officiis II. (to *intellegentiae*, § 34. 693. 12, Orelli).
 180a. Letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle, generally called *De Situ Indiae*.
 185a. Julii Valerii Epitome.

The appearance in this Harleian ms (which I shall call H for the future) of the fragment which is added before the oration for Milo in the Erfurdt ms, viz., that beginning "P. Clodius senator seditiosus fuit" (see Orelli, p. 1152), together with the fact that we find the very same fragments of the Verrines, viz., III. §§ 1–10 to *deprecati*; and in Verr. IV., those fragments and no others which appear in Erf., lead us at once to the surmise that in these works

of Cicero, which are found both in H and Erf., we shall discover a considerable similarity. And though the similarity is not as great as I had at first expected to find, still there are several of the treatises in H which owe their origin to the same archetype as the Erf ms.* Now, there is another ms, containing various works of Cicero, which belongs to the same family as Erf. does. It was owned by the German theologian Melchior Hittorp; and we have a good deal of information concerning it preserved in the commentaries and *Variae Lectiones* of Graevius, from which source Wunder and Orelli derive their not unfrequent references to this ms. It has just those passages of the third and fourth Verrines that Erf. [and H] have. “Melchioris Hittorpii schedae . . . excerpta sunt codicis Erfurtensis” (Orelli, p. 235, *Introductio* to Verr. III.). Whether or not it came into Graevius’s possession I cannot say. But, at any rate, it was a Cologne ms—whether or not identical with the *Coloniensis Basilicanus* is doubtful (see Orelli’s *Introductio* to *De Imper. Cn. Pompeii*, p. 516)—and much used by him along with another ms of that city, which is generally called *Coloniensis Graevii*.

Before, however, coming to the *Epistolae ad Familiares*, it may be of some service to take a hasty glance at the other works in the ms, as we shall thereby, perhaps, see more clearly to what class this copy of the Epistles is to be referred.

The *Epistola ad Octavianum* has a striking resemblance to Erf., and is no doubt copied from the same archetype. I went through all the variants in Wunder (pp. 137–139), and found H agreeing with Erf. in every case except the following:—780 15,† uidere non poterat H, non poterat uidere E; 780. 22, pro H, proh E; 781. 13, lappidabat H, lapidabat E; 782. 18, utinam H, ut E; 782. 31, pl. R. H, R. p. E; 783. 5, audiet H, audiant E. H is sometimes corrected by a second hand: *e.g.*, 781. 5, dolere H², dolore H¹; 782. 3, praedicabant H², praedicabam H¹; 782. 5, celerem H², scelerem H¹.

The same agreement may be observed in the *De Petitione Con-*

* For a full account and collation of the Erfurdt ms, see *Variae Lectiones librorum aliquot M. T. Ciceronis ex codice Erfurtensi enotatae* ab Eduardo Wundero, Leipzig, 1827.

† The references are to the pages and lines of Orelli’s Cicero, edited by Baier.

sulatus. We find H at one with Erf. in the following:—359. 2, intellegentia; 7, naturarum; 19, omnibus; 360. 9, atque (*for* quod); 23, caupadoces (H *has above the line* uel caupones); 29, r (*for* equites Romani); 32, optimusque caucilium; 361. 10, curiose tannios; 362. 8, ab honoribus; 15, petitionem magistratus; 31, consul; 363. 4, c. fundanique galii chociuii (Erf. *has* chorciuii); 364. 5, inter nos calumniatores; 29, hominem quam iners; 365. 27, autem emi quod; 31, obediendo; 366. 17, adspectatorem; 367. 31, facete abs; 368. 1, equandum dato; 369. 34, y (*for* Romani). The differences are slight, and such as would be made by two different copyists of the same archetype. H is rather more correct than Erf., which latter Wunder thinks of no very great importance in this treatise; *e.g.*, H has; 359. 7, descendenti; 19, fere; 360. 10, illis; 15, homini; 362. 34, prorsus; 363. 4, deferundis; 6, est *inserted*; 17, homines *inserted*; 364. 1, hominum; 9, comparantur; 365. 28, adhibebitur; 36, salutatorum; 366. 26, honestatem; 367. 13, melius; 33, diurni nocturnique; 369. 21, ornando; 28, poscit.

The Erf. ms contains the *De Amicitia* and the *De Senectute*; but I have been unable to find such resemblance as would lead us to attribute the copies in H to the same archetype. As regards the *De Amicitia*, I compared the first fifty variants (of Ernesti's edition from Erf.), as given by Wunder, and found twenty-seven agreements of H and Erf. In all these cases, except two (*viz.* § 1, augur sceuola; § 9, nec catoni comparantur), the two mss preserve what is really the more correct reading, erroneously altered by Ernesti; and in the remaining twenty-three, H has the correct reading, which has been corrupted by Erf. It has nec sicut . . . sapientem (§ 7), which is omitted by Erf., and, also, et uere (tuere, Erf.) in § 8. Of the first fifty important variants of the *De Senectute*, H agrees with Erf. in twenty-seven. Of these it agrees five times wrongly, *viz.*, § 1, flaminium, attice; § 2, leuare, certe scio (see Mr. Reid's note *ad loc.*); § 8, ignobilis. Out of the twenty-three times H disagrees with Erf., it does so only twice wrongly: § 5, ferendum; § 6, ingrediendum. H has all the words in the first ten sections, which Wunder notices as omitted by Erf. In § 3 it has attribuito *corrected into* attribuitur, and, in § 10, a mixture of two readings, *viz.*, cum etate condita grauitas cum etate

condita uirtus grauis. H is on the whole wonderfully well copied. There is very considerable similarity between H and what Graevius calls his *primus*; but they are not the same, nor, I think, of the same family; for though several examples of agreement may be adduced, especially in the first ten sections or so, still, in the latter part of the treatise, such variants as 600. 26 (Orelli), occatum (occaecatam, *Gr.*); 33, oblectamentumque (oblectamenta *Gr.*); 608. 25, inclusi (conclusi *Gr.*); 609. 23, creditote (credite *Gr.*), 610. 4, colitote (colite *Gr.*); 23, stultissimus iniquissimo (stultissimus aequo, *Gr.*), must be considered of great weight.* In fact, the only conclusion I can arrive at, touching these two treatises as they appear in H, is that they are *not* connected with Erf. nor Graev. prim.; and that it does not appear to what family they belong.†

It is quite different as regards the *Philippics*. Here we can be very definite, for in H we have not only one of the same family as the *Coloniensis*, but the very book itself. In Col. the first two Philippics are pretty accurately copied, though we find such strange corruptions as 1243. 6, exhaimunt (*for* exhauriunt); 1271. 5, Capouna (*for* Capua), corruptions which H also exhibits. But from the third on, as may be seen from Graevius's *Variae Lectiones*, Col. becomes extraordinarily corrupt, there being ever so many erasures and corrections. Take, for example, such a passage as the following: 1295. 14. Here Graevius says—"in Coloniensi quidem habetur editorum lectio sed haec uerba *se similem esse Kathilinae* (sic ibi scribitur) *gloriar* sunt erasis uerbis a prima manu scriptis supposita recentiore a manu." Now, this exactly describes the reading of H. Again, at 1346. 15, Graevius says:—"Alii fuit etiam in Coloniensi sed erasae sunt litterae *lii* relicto *a'* nota illa litterae *a* apposita est a recentiore manu, ab illa quoque additum est *a' dies*. Ante interpolatorem in illo legebatur *quamquam qui unquam alii ludi laetiores fuerunt cum in singulis uersibus*."

* Graevius alludes to Hittentorpianus (*sic*) at 589. 15, as having *contemplor*. So has H. This, however, does not amount to much, though I presume Graev. refers to the Hittorpianus. But we have no definite tradition of this ms in these two treatises.

† The codex Gudianus, No. 335, agrees in some points with H, and might be supposed to be connected, as without doubt the speech for Deiotarus, where it occurs first in H, belongs to the same family as the Gudianus. But the points of difference are too great.

Quam etiam est additum ab interpolatore." Here, again, H answers entirely to this description. In short, I have gone through all the passages, such as the above (and they are many), where Graevius has noticed any sort of tampering with the original text of Col., and in all of them I have found in H exactly those alterations and corrections that he has referred to. Both Col. and H have the three large lacunae belonging to the D family (see Orelli's *Introd. to the Philippics*), viz. 1268. 2-1269. 10; 1306. 3-1318. 6; 1346. 16-1347. 7. Further, they agree with the D family in beginning the fourth Philippic at 1286. 6. On these grounds, I am quite convinced that the copy of the Philippics in H is the Coloniensis Graevius referred to, though I feel bound to add that H has 1250. 6, *tot praetorios . . . iuventutis*, which Graevius says are not found in Col. Graevius did vast work in his day, but was not exempt from error occasionally; and I think he made some mistake here.

The spurious *Declamatio Sallustii in Ciceronem*, as it is given in H, agrees to some extent with ATB, as quoted by Orelli; and the *Declamatio Ciceronis in Sallustium* does so to a still greater extent. Both are very accurately copied. H reads *fuerint* in 1425. 15. Neither of these treatises occur in Col., Erf., or Hittorp.

The *Orations against Catiline* are, if not the very book itself, at any rate in very close connexion with the ms which Graevius calls his *secundus*. Take, for example, 663. 1. Graevius tells us that his *secundus* reads *publico consilio* "*sed eadem manus adscripserat superius psetho.*" This accurately describes the reading of H. Again, 674. 15, Gr. sec. reads (agreeing with H), *re quidem ne uobis omnibus etiam tum probata*; 683. 22, *senatu equitibus Romanis urbe aerario*; 684. 14, *mihi et urbis sine uestro et sine ullo tumultu satis praesidii consultum ac provisum est*; 687. 14, *in rempublicam destrectos retrösimus* (where H has even the short mark over the *ö*); 703. 16, *praesentis furore non mouear* (*above which in both Gr. sec. and H. is written praesentis dolore non mouear*); 715. 10, *coadiuuat* (*for quoad uiuet*). On the whole I have looked through about one hundred and twenty of the references to Graev. sec. and found at least one hundred and five agreeing absolutely with H. As to the other fifteen, I am not quite sure that they are real exceptions, *e. g.* 683. 19, Gr. sec. is said to

read *respondebunt tumulus sylvestribus*, omitting *Catilinae* after *respondebunt*. H has *Catilinae*. But I think Graevius was insisting only that his *secundus* read *tumulus*, not *tumulis*, and did not want it to be understood that it omitted *Catilinae*. So 684. 7, I do not believe Graevius intended that his *secundus* omitted *cum iniquitate* (H does not); for though he ignores it in the *Variae Lect.*, he reads it in the text. The most important differences of H from Gr. sec. are : 665. 22, *uerebere* (*uerebare Gr.*); 666. 13, *adseruarem* (*seruarem Gr.*); 673. 4, *euasit erupit* (*erupit euasit Gr.*); 678. 3, *Quirites* (om. H, ins. *Gr.*); 4 *quod* (*quos Gr.*); 696. 8, *ad supplicandos* (*ad supplicandos deos Gr.*); 704. 8, *ne manent deplorandum P. R.* (*ne maneat P. R. nomen Gr.*); 706. 7, *formido* (*fortitudo Gr.*). It will be easily seen by any reader of Graevius's *Variae Lectiones* that such variants are trivial compared with all the other instances of agreement. That these two mss are identical is, to my mind, all but certain.

The *Paradoxa stoicorum* follow, but from what origin they are derived I cannot say. The tradition of mss in Graevius's notes and *Variae Lectiones* is very scanty, and what there is wanting in definiteness. There is considerable agreement with one of Gulielmus's mss, but not sufficient to let us assume connexion. At 750. 25, H reads, *Ego vero te non stultum ut sepe non improbum sed dementem iudico. Si quid in rebus ad uictum necessariis esse inuictum potest, &c.* At 753. 27, the reading is as in the other mss mentioned by Orelli.

The speech for *Marcellus*, where it occurs first, belongs to the same family as the Medicean. It would be tedious and inapposite to give the proof in detail. I cannot at all discover to what family to refer the second copy of the speech. That it is in neither case connected with Erf. has seemed to me, after considerable examination, almost certain.

Nor can I trace connexion between the speech for *Ligarius* in either place and Erf. or Col. Graevii. Though we find striking similarities (*e. g.* 1202. 25), H (in second place) and Col. read *ne in RS* for *neiners*), yet the divergences are very numerous and important. In each case the speech is copied in H with considerable accuracy; but to what family it is to be referred is a question I have been unable to answer.

As also in the case of the speech for *King Deiotarus*, at least where it occurs the second time and in full. The first time it occurs it only goes down to § 26, aetate 1216. 26. That is just where the Gudianus, No. 335, stops. There is considerable agreement in the readings of that ms with H, and little divergence; so that one may fairly, in my opinion, refer both to the same family. But again I am baffled as to where to refer the speech the second time it occurs. Suffice to say it does not agree to any great extent with either Erf. or Col.

Fulgentius Planciades "De abstrusis sermonibus" comes in oddly amongst all the Ciceronian works. It is inaccurately copied. It has *quid sit* before each gloss all through. It has no list at the beginning, and is addressed to Chalcidius. It, however, differs considerably from the Brussels ms, No. 9172 (for which see the treatise by Dr. Laurenz Lersch on Fulgentius: Bonn. 1844); but this is not the place to discuss the comparative worthlessness of H.

On the speech for *Milo* we find in Orelli allusions (unfortunately only eight) to the Hittorpianus. They are: 1154. 16, ab improbis; 1155. 4, diuina; 1172. 10, probari; 1173. 11, uides; 1171. 1, libente; 1182. 2, ea; 1183. 31, et fortissimum; 1183. 31, elegit. In all these H has the same reading. (True, in 1155. 4, Orelli says Hittorp. reads *diuinae*, but Graev. declares that it has *diuina*). This makes a primâ facie probability of the connexion of the two mss.

Somewhat different is the case with the speech *De Imperio Cn. Pompeii*. Here I have noted some forty-one references in Orelli to the Hittorpianus; and H agrees in all except five, viz.: 520. 28, prope (propter *Hitt.*); 521. 28, prope (propter *Hitt.*); 523. 27, ut hac uos (ut uos *Hitt.*); 531. 18, quibus erat molestum (quibus erat semper molestum *Hitt.*); 538. 21, iterum nunc (nunc iterum *Hitt.*). Still when against these we put such important agreements as 523. 18, studio atque odio; 525. 15, partim; 17, illud, omitted; 525. 20, quale; 529. 17, quae; 530. 26, repentina; 532. 24, commendamus; 534. 29, gereretur; 32, cuiusquam iniquitas; 537. 12, facultatem; 538. 22, reficiendi, together with twenty-four other such agreements, we have very strong proof that, as regards this speech, H and Hittorp. are connected.

The fragment that serves as introduction to the speech for *Milo*

in Erf., viz. that beginning *P. Clodius senator seditiosus fuit* (cf. Orelli, 1152), follows. It is to be noticed that it is thus out of place. It ought to have preceded the speech for Milo.

The Erf. fragments of the third and fourth *Verrines* follow, and from these, what Gruter calls the *schedae* of Melchior Hittorp, were taken. These fragments are very accurately written, and superior to the copy of Erf., e.g. the words omitted in Erf. at 347. 25, 26, *mittit etiam . . . mittitur*; 365. 10–12, *dies ille . . . contio* are found inserted in H. It has, however, often been altered by a second hand to the reading of Erf.

The *De Officiis*, Book I. and Book II., down to § 34, *intellegentiae* (693. 12), are accurately enough copied; but it is hard to say to what family they are to be referred. There are a very great number of agreements with Erf.; but the variants, though few, are of such a character* that one cannot be quite certain that the two mss are from the same archetype. There is a curious transposition in H. It goes straight on to 649. 17, *commutatur*, and then, though on the same page, continues at 662. 33, *periculosa et callida*, down to 683. 27, *gradatim*; after which follows the previously omitted portion (649. 17–662. 33), after the completion of which it continues 683. 27 to the end. No such transposition appears in Erf., which only goes down to 672. 20, *sive bonitate naturae sive*.

The *Letter of Alexander* to Aristotle is that sometimes printed at the end of the editions of Quintus Curtius, entitled *Alexandri Magni Epistola de situ Indiae et itinerum in ea uastitate ad Aristotelem praeceptorem suum in Latinitatem uersa a Cornelio Nepote*. In H the only heading is *Incipit Epistola Magni Alexandri Macedonis ad Aristotilem magistrum suum*. I believe there is a critical edition of this epistle by Kluge, but I have not seen it.

The text in H of *Julius Valerius's* translation of the Romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes on Alexander the Great is singularly accurate. It is in close accord with the Wolfenbüttel ms, which Zachert† calls E, and values so highly, but at times preserves a more cor-

* 642. 7, *quoad te* (*quousque Erf.*); 653. 8, *temperans* (*intemperans Erf.*); 645. 5, *gerendem* (*agendam Erf.*); 670. 5, *mancia* (*manciatu Erf.*).

† *Julii Valerii Epitome*, zum erstenmal herausgegeben von Julius Zacher: Halle, 1867.

rect reading, and hardly ever disagrees with E, when the latter is right. I doubt if there exists a more accurate copy than the one in H. Julius Valerius is often found in mss along with the *Epistola Alexandri*. (See Zacher's Preface; also Teuffel, *Rom. Lit.*, 388. 11.)

We have thus found a considerable number of the treatises in the Harleian volume connected with the Hittorpianus, Erfurdt, or some one of Graevius's mss. This is to be remembered when we attempt further on to show a close connexion between the copies of the *Epp. ad Fam.* in H and in the Hittorp.—a ms of the Epistles which, together with the Palatinus Sextus, we are told* is derived from the same archetype as the Erfurdt. But let us now say a few words about the copy of the *Epistolae ad Familiares* as given by H.

The *Epistolae ad Familiares*, ix.-xvi., are all complete with the exception of ix. 18, though the index refers to this letter. There are indices to all the books except x., xi. It is unfortunate that there is no index to xi., as we should wish to know whether it would have referred to the mysterious letter xi. 13*a*, about the unhappy inhabitants of Parma. There is no appearance of that letter in the ms. The letters of xii., from 22 to the end, are all run together as in M. xii. 29 and xii. 21 are found a second time after xiii. 77; also a letter to Caelius (ii. 14), after xiii. 49. In xv., epistles 9, 7, 8 come in this order as in M. In xvi., the order is the same as in M. Fol. 20*b* (where the third quaternion ends) has 22 lines blank, but no break in the text. Fol. 30*b* (where the fourth quaternion ends) was blank, and has been filled up by a set of ingenious and somewhat laughable verses in double columns, *De sum et non sum, de sum et fui, &c.*

The copy of H is, on the whole, pretty accurate—far more so than the ms of the first eight books, Harl. 2773. But we find nearly all the common kinds of errors which copyists fall into—confusion of *i* and *l*, *ioci* for *loci*; *c* and *t*, even *patificatio* (183. 25); *d* and *t*, *at* and *ad*; *u* and *n*; *cl* and *d*, *demens* for *clemens* (225. 32); *ui* for *ut* (220. 22); such mistakes as *cito* for *scito*, *sceleriter* for *celeriter*.

* Erfurtensis autem, et Palatinus sextus et Hittorpianus, quos ex eodem cum Erfurtense fonte fluxisse iudico, &c. (Wunder, "Variae Lectiones," p. xciv).

As regards *spelling*, it is seldom consistent. Between *m* and *n* in certain words it generally inserts *p*. e.g. *calumpnia contempnere*. The compounds of *iacere* are always, e.g. *abicere, obicere*. We find *cottidie* (but once *cotidianas* 225. 33), never *quotidie*, generally *intellego, neglego, optinere, existumo, affrica, amicicia, actenus* (though often corrected by first hand to *hactenus*), *paulo*. We find always *quicquid, expectatio, incolomitas, beniuolentia, libenter, recuperare, magnopere, repperire, eufraten*; but considerable variation as regards *iocundus* and *iucundus, optimus* and *optumus*, and all such superlatives. Almost always H has *hi, his, hisdem* for *ii*, &c. It generally has *-is* in the acc. plu. of words with genit. plu. in *-ium*. On the whole, it does not show an inclination to assimilation; and this is especially the case with compounds of *ad-*, though we find *allaturus* (180. 31), *appetendum* (132. 19), *ammiratione* (195. 11). Generally it writes *inquit*, and sometimes even such forms as *reliquid* (for *reliquit*). There is much variation as to the use of the longer or shorter forms of such words as *auocauerit* or *auocarit*: the longer forms are the more frequent. We find *Ant.* used for all cases, singular and plural, of *Antonius*. It does not run *est* into the preceding words, as M so often does, e.g. 165. 29, *ratio*st M, *ratio* ð H. We sometimes find letters below the line, e.g. *am_antis* (= *amantis*). Greek words are sometimes, but very rarely, written in Roman characters. The Greek characters used by the scribe (who was ignorant of Greek) are just like those of the Erf. ms. Dittographia is comparatively rarely found; the corruption *ex homoeoteleuto* pretty frequently. The punctuation is decidedly inaccurate, and cannot be relied on at all:—e.g. 146. 1, *est de coctio. Mihi, &c.* 146. 8, *sequatur consilii nostri. Nisi, &c.* 149. 9, *gloria. Neque, &c.* 150. 9, *risurum. Scribam, &c.* 151. 17, *uenire non possum. Ego non, &c.* And so on throughout the book. It sometimes has notes of interrogation, though often very inaccurately placed. The divisions of words are frequently quite worthless, e.g. 159. 13, *est uocatus · de situsis dictator for est uocari desitus, &c.*

The *omissions* are, on the whole, few. Not mentioning single words where they are, as generally, small ones, the omissions that are of any importance are the following:—(They are in most cases due to *corruptio ex homoeoteleuto*. When this is the case, I have

added the word that caused the omission. The words enclosed in brackets are the ones omitted:—154. 32, 33, periculo [aliquo. . . . argumento]; 157, the whole of ix. 18*; 167. 31, sis [es autem adeptus amplissimos]; 180. 12, facultatibus [quas habemus]; 181. 8, Africanus [exercitus]; 185. 1, [equitatus et]; 186. 22–4 [quod . . . contrarium fuit]; 187. 17, [fecerat]; 40, retinuissem [si uno loco habuissem]; 189. 12, [reliquisse]; 192. 33, [a consule]; 195. 5, [legionem]; 198. 28, quod neque [Planci arbitrabantur neque]; 210. 6, referent [siue non referent]; 210. 30, [reliquiarum nihil fuisset]; 210. 35, [legatis nihil]; 218. 30, Romanis [omnibus]; 225. 6, hoc est [animi hoc est]; 227. 15, [Quod rogo]; 229. 30, [lictiores]; 231. 12, [homo minime]; 232. 24, [civibus]; 234. 20, honestissimi [mihique coniunctissimi]; 235. 4, nec [honorum nec]; 244. 26, litteras [pondus habituras]; 245. 15, Aemil[i Aviani]ani; 250. 2–5, [Cicero Acilio interfui]; 250. 21–23, [eum expedias gratum erit]; 265. 27, [et fiet]; 266. 19, consequemur [sin eadem proicies]; 266. 30, [D. a. d. . . . Thessalonica]; 272. 23, tuto posse [per Dolabellam posse]; 273. 25, ipse [opinione]; 281. 12, in habendis [aut non habendis]; 283. 41–2, publice [propterea publice]; 287. 16, [et uictores uellent]; 290. 9, putet [scis putet]; 292. 17, [nihil ualere].

There are a few examples of what look like variants, both of which have crept into the text, *e.g.*:—256. 1, officiis uel beneficiis; 258. 9, beneficiis uel officiis; 286. 22, gloria uel uictoria. There is one example of an explanation given of a Greek word: 299. 30, ^{i regula}kanon.

We have already made allusion to the close connexion of the Erfurdt, Palatinus Sextus, and Hittorpianus mss, which all belong to one family, as Wunder has told us (Var. Lect. xciv.). Now we have discovered considerable agreement with this family in several of the works which make up the Harleian volume; so that we are not at all surprised to find the *Epp. ad Fam.* exhibiting a very striking resemblance to the mss of this family, and especially to the Hittorpianus. It being found along with other treatises be-

* Probably omitted *ex homoeoteleuto*. The copyist, after writing the heading Cicero S. D. L. Papirio Peto, went on at the next letter, which has exactly the same heading.

longing to the same family adds a sort of external confirmation to a theory that can be very strongly supported from internal evidence. That internal evidence I now proceed to set forth; and, in passing, let me remind readers of the high critical value of the mss of this family, especially the Pal. Sext. and Hittorp.—laudatissimus codex Pal. Sext. (Gebhard ap. Graev. p. 71); Hittorpius codex ut exerior optimus (ib. 355, cp. 161).

And first let us take the *Hittorpius*. That the Harleian ms of the Epistles stands in the very closest relation to the Hittorpius may be seen from the following points of agreement, which are among the most important:—146. 30, ostentatui; 147. 2, otiosissimi minabantur; 149. 3, praecipue cum iam inclinata sit uictoria; 152. 10, uiuentem (*for* iuuerem); 154. 41, esset incitata libertas; 161. 14 certiore ut sit. Ceparius. 165. 28, quid sentires prudenter te arbitrabar; 167. 8, sine uirtute fieri non potuisset; 167. 31, [es autem adeptus amplissimos];* 172. 39, fucata; 173. 24, [dicuntur]; 177. 19, [certe]; 178. 18, sinam ut exercitum; 179. 26, pater et frater (*for* pateret iter); 181. 35, tueor (*for* iuero); 182. 12, sin autem satisfactum officio reip. satisfactum putas; 183. 15, producimus; 192. 4, non scripsissemus; 192. 33, [a consule]; 198. 7, Hirtium perisse nesciebam Aquilam perisse nesciebam, Caesari; 198. 13, itinera fecit multo; 199. 17, hi noui terrores; 205. 15, communi miseriarum metu; 205. 35, quam me scio a te aeque contra iniquos; 210. 10, parenti optimo merito; 215. 26, dum seruis ^{heremus} haberemus;† 216. 16, Sexulius Rufus; 218. 30, [omnibus]; 221. 41, ab indocto (*omitting* non); 223. 11, πάντα περὶ πάντων; 225. 19, ea tibi commendo sed non debeo commendare; 228. 13, quibus eum tibi uerbis commendauerim; 231. 18, ὑμνηματισμόν; 236. 11, ordine ipso et hominum genere; 239. 8, hic ille est maxime; 242. 1, omnia a te summo studio et cura peto; 245. 13, ut uidetis in formulis; 247. 20, possum dicere eum non praefuisse; 250. 9, quod Demetrio graueretur; 262. 11, quod si Romae fuisset te uidissem; 264. 11, aditu ad tuam cognitionem patefacto; 266. 4, essemus, praestitissem; 266. 41, uirtutem et indulgentiam; 268. 1, O me perditum efflictum (efflictim *Hitt.*); 273. 18, nos tota

* The square brackets signify that the words are *omitted* in both mss.

† Graevius's note is: “*Hittorp.* dum seruis haberemus (*supra* haberemus scriptum erat heremus).” This exactly expresses what we find in H.

die; 273. 25 [opinione]; 274. 22, abi amplico (*for* ab Iamblichō); 276. 18, dixissem et tamen adolescentem essem cohortatus; 276. 27 [audacter]; 281. 12, [aut non habendis]; 284. 16, cui nunquam concessi; 287. 9, diffiniri; 288. 30, sed petunt statim ut ueniunt; 296. 33, ordinatius; 298. 32, nullo modo (*for* nihilo); 301. 1, exoptatissimus; 301. 9, quae quod pollicetur iste; 301. 18, praestabo gratis me scito; 302. 24, qua primo (*for* quadrimo); 303. 18 [Hirtium].

These are important points of agreement; but are not nearly all. However, I shall give *all* the passages in which H and Hittorp. *disagree*, seventy-eight in number; and any reader of Graevius will then, by the Method of Residues, understand the very extensive nature of agreement of the two mss.

	HARL.	HITTORP.
145. 41	Hoc etiam κατὰ Χρύσιππον δυνατόν est.	Ηoc κατὰ Χρύσιππον δυνατόν etiam.
146. 13	ocio soluo.	ocio solus.
148. 40	S. V. G. V.	si uales gaudeo ualeo.
166. 22	neque facultas.	neque sic facultas.
167. 41	Haec si et (>) ages.	Haec si ages.
169. 2	opus fuerunt.	opus fuit.
170. 30	cuius rei non preteriit tempus.	cuius rei modo praeteriit tempus.
172. 15	ut consumerat at ego et (>) litteras tuas nihil enim sciebat.	ut consuerat: at ego ei litteras tuas nihildum enim sciebat.
178. 4	et (<i>before</i> quibus).	<i>omitted in Hittorp.</i>
181. 27	a tanta gloria.	tanta gloria.
184. 36	potuissemus.	possemus.
187. 4	XVI.	XV.
187. 24	Fabium quendam.	ob Fabium quendam.
189. 9	a quinta legione concisam.	a quinta concisam.
194. 35	adhibuisset.	adiuisti.
194. 42	quo etiam et res illa.	quo etiam res illa.
195. 5	Martiam quartam quae.	Martiam legionem quae.
196. 17	initiat ciuitas.	initiat uaciuitas.
197. 27	sua.	tua.
198. 38	uestra.	nostra.
199. 27	ille diligenter fecit.	diligenter ille fecit.
200. 4	facile a te.	a te facile.
204. 37	mihi amicus te.	te mihi amicus.
205. 34	ea si tu non audis.	et tu si non audis.
206. 7	nec te alienius.	<i>omitted in Hittorp.</i>
207. 19	frequenter repperient uentitare.	frequentis uentitare repperies.
209. 16	libertate et remp. recuperare.	libertatem recuperare.
214. 1	consistet.	existet.
214. 14	ut optimo maximoque animo.	ut optima spe maximoque animo.
216. 19	celeriter iter expediri nobis.	celeriter nobis expediri.
216. 38	scripsi quam reuera furere inueni. Quod uero aliquid de his scripsi mirari noli.	scripsi mirari noli.

HARL.

HITTORP.

218. 37	in Lycia esse.	esse in Lycia.
223. 33	arbitrabor.	arbitrabar.
226. 28	quibuscunque rebus potero.	quibuscunque potero rebus.
229. 20	tu sis.	tu eius sis.
230. 17	suorum.	sociorum.
232. 13	prudential.	prouidentiae.
234. 42	quasi simili causa.	qua simili causa.
235. 1	conplures.	compluris.
239. 27	commendationi.	commendationis.
242. 10	uiderere.	uidere.
242. 19	scripsisse de sese.	scripsisse de se.
242. 24	et in omni.	et omni.
243. 18	Cossinio.	Cospinio.
244. 7	in maiorem modum.	maiorem in modum.
246. 30	his.	is.
247. 19	negotii.	negotium.
249. 28	maximo sibi et adiumento et orna- mento fuisse.	apud te et adiumento et.
254. 24	Genucilio curudiano pridem.	L. Genacio Sal iampridem.
260. 39	est ille quidem libertus.	est ille libertus.
265. 15	mecum cupit esse.	mecum cupit esse secum.
266. 27	quando ita uobis placet.	qm uobis ita placet.
268. 19	id uelim sit eiusmodi.	id uelim ut sit eiusmodi.
268. 27	Philotherum.	Philotaerum.
269. 19	Suis S. D.	M. Cicero S. D. Suis.
272. 35	VIII Kal. Formis.	<i>omitted in Hittorp.</i>
275. 14	imbecilla.	imbella.
276. 8	salus.	salus ipsius.
281. 42	M. Cato S. D. Ciceroni Imp.	M. Cato C. Imp. S. D.
282. 9	potius.	<i>omitted in Hittorp.</i>
282. 16	sis.	sim.
284. 31	ego unus debeam.	ego debeam.
287. 37	nulla.	ulla.
288. 30	portam.	portas.
288. 33	reuertatur.	reuertuntur.
288. 38	refrexisset.	refrixeret.
292. 13	moraris.	morareris.
297. 17	uniuersae et senatus et reip.	uniuersae reip. et senatus.
297. 32	sed.	se.
298. 1	habet ^{mus} a tergo.	habemus a tergo.
298. 1	obrimi.	obruui.
298. 2	modo urbe salua.	<i>omitted in Hittorp.</i>
299. 36	satis scite.	satis scire.
299. 39	tu te mecum esse mi tu cumulatis- sime satisfacere puto.	tum et mecum esse tum et mihi cumulatissime satisfacere putato.
300. 15	Mathonem.	mamentonem.
301. 32	illi.	illis.
302. 17	caue ne suspiceris.	caue ut suspiceris.
303. 3	et N. ad cuius rutam pulcio.	et ad cuius rutam pulcio.

Such are *all* the real cases in which Hittorp. varies from H; and though they seem numerous, they are really very few and trifling compared with the vast number of agreements. There are a few other cases where there appears to be a variance between the mss, but these are, in my opinion, due to mistakes on the part of Graevius. And it may not be irrelevant here to say that we must not place too implicit faith on what Graevius says in the reading of this or that ms. He generally wishes to lay stress on some word or words, and disregards making the rest of his quotation exactly conform to what he finds in the ms. he is quoting from. Take, for example, 271. 9. In his Var. Lect., p. 337, we find within four lines the same passage of Hittorp. quoted as ‘sed *si* metuendus’ and ‘sed metuendus.’ At 235. 28, in the Var. Lect., p. 321, Graevius gives *acceperit*, as what Hittorp. reads; but in the notes under the text *accepit*. At 228. 13, Var. Lect., p. 317, *commendarim* is said to be the reading of Hittorp.; in notes under the text *commendaerim*. Such inconsistencies do not weaken one whit our admiration for Graevius’s wide and profound learning; but it shows that we are not necessarily to consider that in the following passages Hittorp. reads exactly as Graevius states, and so is at variance with H, especially as in each case the point of divergence is not the matter that Graevius is evidently wishing to emphasize; 146. 25, Ostiae uideri eum commodius exire posse, *Hittorp.* Ostiae uideri commodius eum exire posse, H. The point Graevius wishes to emphasize is that Hittorp. reads *ostiae*, not *optime*, and may have neglected to state correctly the order of *commodius* and *eum*. 172. 1, ut magnam mihi partem laetitiae tua dignitas, afferat, *Hitt.* Ut magnam partem mihi laetitiae tua dignitas adferat, H. Here that *Hitt.* has *afferat*, not *affert*, is the point insisted on, not the position of *mihi*. and *partem*. Similar errors I have noticed (I give the reading of H in each case) at 163. 26, quid ad te hercule coena numquid ad te; 185. 5, repente Antonius in aciem; 188. 41, et ego mehercules longe remotus; 196. 30, septem numerum nunc; 197. 7, a te mi litterae redditae sunt; 228. 18, quod tuum est iudicium de omnibus; 235. 28, praedia in estimatione accepit; 238. 21, meus autem est quam familiarissimus; 239. 7, hic ille est; 240. 41, esse eos M. Curii; 266. 27, aliquid ad me uos scribitis; 281. 10, etiam illud mihi animum advertisse uideor; 283. 6, tum mei amantissimum

te cognoui; 296. 32, ut nihil possit fieri ordinatius; 298. 32, tuis litteris nullo modo sum factus certior; 300. 18, fac opus ut appareat.

All the rest of the readings of Hittorp. that we have handed down to us agree with H. That one, then, as copied from the other seems to me in the highest degree probable. If they were only brothers (so to speak) it would be unlikely that we should have closer agreement than between Erf. and Pal. Sext. (which *are* brothers), and the resemblance between H and Hittorp. is much closer. My own opinion is that Hittorp. was copied from H, and that the latter is a brother of Pal. Sext. and Erf. The reasons I should give for considering that Hittorp. is copied from H, and not *vice versa*, is that in our list of differences between the two mss. we found five important omissions in Hittorp. which were not found in H, viz.: 206. 7; 216. 38; 249. 28; 282. 9; 298. 2.* Such omissions might have been made in a copy; a copyist could not have supplied them.

The *Palatinus Sextus*, though agreeing very considerably with Hittorp., and therefore with H, still varies so much that we cannot consider them to have been copied one from the other. Though a valuable ms, it is less accurate than either of the other two. It was originally written in Germany (see Gebhard ap. Graev., p. 3, Pal. Sextus quem librum in Germania scriptum esse diuersitas a libris Italicis indicat), and is doubtless derived from the same archetype as H and Erf. The tradition of it is not at all as extensive as that of the Hitt. As a sample of its difference from H, I shall mention the places in Book XIV. where the two mss are at variance.

	H.	PAL. SEXT.
265. 16	ipso (Hispo <i>edd.</i>).	ipse.
265. 17	Plautius me retinet.	retinet me Plaucius.
266. 1	facto.†	factu.
266. 35	magis exeruciant.	plus exeruciant.
266. 40	conficior.	conficiar.

* The only passage that is strongly against my theory is 214. 14, ut optima spe maximoque animo *Hitt.*; ut optimo maximoque animo H. It is, however, quite possible that Graevius saw that Hittorp. read *maximoque*, not *et maximo*, and did not look further to see how it read the other words (see *Variae Lect.*, p. 310). Another passage not so strong, and to be explained in the usual way, is 229. 20.

† I think the reading of H is really facto, *i.e.* facto, with an *i* above the *t*. For here the *t* goes far above the line, which is quite unusual, except (sometimes, not always) after *s*.

H.

PAL. SEXT.

267. 23	spectare (<i>expectare edd.</i>).	sperare.
268. 2	confectam.	affectam.
269. 19	Suis S. D.	M. T. C. Suis S. D.
269. 30	et Tullio iam.	Tulliolam.
269. 39	cognossem.	cognoscerem.
271. 9	sed metuendus iratus est quiesce.	si metuendus iratus est quiesces.

All the above readings of H agree with Hittorp. except two, viz., 209. 19, and the obvious mistake, et Tullio iam, *for* et Tulliolam, in 269. 30.

The full collation of the *Erfurtensis* by Wunder has enabled me to see the connexion of H with this ms. very clearly. Erf. has XII. 29, 21; XIII. 78, 79; XIV. xv. xvi. Some of the very important points of agreement are:—268. 23, non potes (*for* ut potes); 269. 19, Suis S. D.; 269. 25, extra idas; 272. 18, 19 [*per* . . . posse] *omitted*; 273. 8, labrum sit in balneo; 273. 18, tota die; 273. 20, testamenti; 276. 18, dixissem et tamen adolescentem essem cohortatus; 278. 13, a. a. VII.; 283. 41, 2 [*propterea* . . . publice] *omitted*; 284. 28, paterna tua tuaque; 284. 34, in ipso se te scias; 286. 36, te ornamento te mihi; 290. 21, mittere boni (*for* mi Treboni); 293. 19, te (*for* plane); 294. 21, scripsi sed si eorum; 295. 26, nocte et die illa et die postera; 298. 28, VII.; 300, dei lionei (*for* dei boni); 300, 13, ff 00 (*for* HS CIO); 303. 17 [*st*] om. Yet the two mss *differ* considerably. For example, Erf. *omits* the following, which are found in H:—265, 9, 10, Res quanta sit . . . fuerit; 269. 12, nostrum; 283. 7, ornatus; 285. 31, omnibus; 285. 35, publice; 295. 15, Q. F. . . . dicit. And further disagrees at 268. 2, aegram et H erga E; 271. 11, miserrimas H, miseris E; 272. 33, instituatis H, institutos E; 276. 21, Ariarathe H, ariathate E; 279. 37, ne geribus H, generibus E, ne regibus *edd.*; 284. 15, officiis H, beneficiis E; 292. 11, cepisti H, petisti E; 300. 31, cito H, scito E.

So far, then, the conclusion which we have arrived at is that H, Pal. Sext., and Erf. are derived from a common archetype; and that most probably Hittorp. is copied from H. The last and greatest question remains—What is the relation of H to the Medicean?

That M (the Medicean ms) is the original from which all the other extant mss of the *Epp. ad Familiares* are copied is the well-known theory of Orelli. That scholar is like the royal champion,

and is ready to do battle for the absolute and sole sovereignty of the monarch whose cause he upholds ; and that sovereignty, with such a doughty defender, has till recently met with pretty general recognition and acceptance. As, however, I think that H is independent of M, except in so far as both are ultimately derived from a common archetype, it will be necessary to set forth reasons for that opinion in considerable detail ; and, accordingly, I add a long list of places where H retains the true reading which has been corrupted in M. They are mostly small matters, but yet not such as would be readily corrected by a thirteenth-century copyist ; the more important ones I shall touch on in the latter portion of the Paper. (The numbers refer to the pages and lines of Orelli's edition (1845). Where a square bracket occurs, what is enclosed by it on the left is the correct reading of H ; the words on the right, the erroneous reading of M. If no bracket occurs, the reading given is the erroneous reading of M.) I have followed the collation of M prefixed to Baiter and Kayser's edition.

BOOK IX.—143.24, ut nullam alleuationem] nullam adleuationem ; 144. 1, infidelissimas ; 5. 6, ea quae] aequae ; 9, diiudicetur] diuidetur ; 13, iturum esse] iterum isse ; 14, consscripsi ; 15, attamen ; 21, tui] *om.* M ; 23, linguis ; 26, cur cum] circum ; sint] sunt ; 145. 3, interit ; 6, hinc] hic ; 7, quam H²] *om.* M H¹ ; 9, athibere ; 11, patius ; 19, caninio] animo ; 21, cito] cita M¹ ; 29, nostrae] nostras ; 30, in re alia] increalia ; 41, loquemus ; 146. 24, ostiae] optiae ; 147. 23, caninius] animus ; 26, quod] quid ; 148. 14, tui] sui ; 149. 5, scilicet tibi] scilicet te tibi ; 9, gloriã ; 11, italiã ; 15, utilis sim erit ; 41, oblitosne ; 150, 17, eo] ego ; 40, uolui] *om.* M ; 151. 13, ambo] ambi M¹, ambos, M² ; 42, quin] qui ; 152. 4, teque ; 7, audior ; 153. 29, ad] at ; 155. 2, effungere ; 156. 7, reuocare] reuore M¹ ; 12, delibitari ; 157. 37, significas ; 158. 5, dissertos ; 20, castra] cassatra ; 25, qua] quam ; 159. 5, capitis] captis, M¹ ; 17, carbones] acarbones ; 31, amo uerecundiam] amore cundiam M¹ ; 160. 13, non] *om.* M ; 162. 7 maximae ; 163. 11, uiuere ; 21, interpretabere, M² H interpretauere M¹.

BOOK X.—164. 9, mi] me ; 165. 6, poterunt] potest ; 14, summa ; 31, orbitata ; 166. 5, audieram] audieroam ; sciui] sciis ; 30, mutuo] multo ; 42, rursus] rusus M¹ ; 167. 4, maioris ; 32, libertatem ; 35, perbatione M¹ ; 168. 2, tum] tu ; 39, salutis] satis ; 169. 12, patire-

mur ; 37, accedam, consilia] accedam ad consilia ; 38, ab H M²] ad M¹ ; 170. 33, benefici ; 39, adiuua] adlua ; 171. 7, dignitatem ; 14, exitu rebusque H M¹] exitum rebus quem M² ; 15 cum tribus millibus] cum tria millia ; 21, constiti] constituti ; 22, huc] hoc ; 173. 10, esset] est ; 18, aiacem] alancem ; 174. 6, optime ; 8, adluandum ; 9, quid] qui ; 15, forum] eorum ; 30, sunt] sint ; 39, huc] huic ; 175. 16, iuuare] tuare ; 36, multos ; 38, eius] es ; 176. 5, posset ; 6 quam] qua ; 8, namque res ; 22, transitu ; 33, grauitatem ; 177. 25, aliena leuitate] alina leuite ; 27, scripsi quae ; 178. 4, et] ex ; 29, dubitauit ; 179. 6, tantam H M²] tantum M¹ ; 23, salutariter] salutare ; 30, celeriter me] celeriter a me ; 180. 27, assiduitatem ; 181. 21, lepidus] iepidus ; 26, extrusum] etrusum ; 182. 7, nauitatem] natiuitatem ; 11, persequundum ; 21, selungis ; 184. 26, bono animo magnoque sis] bono animo magno animoque sis ; 185. 4, transiuimus] transimus ; 8, martiae legionis] marti religionis ; 10, cornum ; 15, Antoniani me insequi] Antoniani anime insequi ; 23, ibi amisit] ibi amici sit ; 32, res] re ; 36, saltis ; 39, scrutatur ; 186. 30, tradituram ; 187. 4, misi] mihi ; 17, deduxit] reduxit M², eduxit M¹ ; 40, men hercules ; 188. 14, iunius ; 24, praesentia] prentia M¹ ; 37, binis tabellariis H M¹] binos tabellarios M² ; 189. 2, reip.] resp.

Book XI.—192. 7, dissimiles] dissimus ; 14, vellet et ; 21, aliis H M¹] alio M² ; 34, dodeamus ; 193. 24, adiuua ; 27, δ Bruto] bruto ; 194. 37, saeium ; 195. 37, elabatur *corr. eadem manu ex* elaboratur] elaboratur ; 196. 13, libore ; 18, commentari ; 28, rusus ; 197. 12, 13, plancium ; 36, prouidendum est] p. sit ; 198. 7, sine iumentis] sine eiumentis ; 12, pessimae ; 20, Venditianis ; 27, consiste ; 30, abroganter allobriges ; 199. 13, habe ; 19, recepi ; 27, excussaret ; 200. 11, nemini] memini ; meminit] memini ; 12, petere] praetere ; 14, munere edilitio] munere dilicio ; 30, te mihi] me tibi ; 31, iueris ; 201. 7, senatuinconsilium ; 26, simillimus] simillius ; 203. 15, se cum] mecum ; 30, quot] quod ; 204. 11, collegas ; 42, ciuilem ; 205. 19, horas quae ; 27, multo ; 206. 36, audes H M²] audies M¹ ; 37, dolore ; 207. 2, 13, at] ad ; 17, petenti] repetenti ; 18, ad] at ; 23, aut] ad.

Book XII.—209. 35, dirrumpitur ; 211. 13, uere ; 14, tanque ; 42, commendauit ; 212. 2, si] sin ; 13, a] ad ; 26, teque] tequae ; 27, teipsuincas ; 213. 8, cum] quam ; 30, opis] opus ; 214. 10, quam

Q.] quamque ; 21, nostra et] et nostrae M¹ ; 36, exercitu ; 215. 1, inte etuere ; 18, possimus ; 216. 4, quam] qui ; 14, nisi] ninisi ; 28, frustrata M¹ ; 217. 20, confessus ; 29, opera ; 218. 14, adtamen ; 38, instructa ; 219. 9, aegyptioque ; 28, timorem ; 220. 5, regio] reregio ; 7, scirem] isciorem ; classem] clas ; 16, constitueretis ; 38, ettam ; 221. 36, et] ex ; 37, caesa ; scito] cito ; 222. 20, impeden-
tibus ; 223. 2, pharti ; 10, contumelia ; in quo ; 30, nos] non ; 32, at] ad ; 224. 16, eoque ; 225. 18, procurata ; 31, calvisii] clauis ; 32, ut] aut ; 33, spem libertatis] spem libem libertatis ; 40, spem ; 226. 9, postrideque M¹ ; 227. 11, maximis ; 20, splendere ; 35, ap-
pellaret ; 41, agerrimum ; 228. 35, tuas] quas ; 36, te] me ; 229. 9, efficit.

Book XIII.—230. 4, potius] dotius ; 5, dolere ; 10, a] ac ; 17, meme habuit ; 231. 25, tua] tu ; 232. 17, pertuum ; 23, quae et a diis] etidis ; 233. 6, caesari ; 13, quod] quid ; 28, ac tibi epistolam ; 29, ea ; 41, exprompseris] expropseris ; 235. 10, coniuctissimum ; 15, dignissimo ; 23, ad te] ad me ; 33, actoritas ; 38, pro ; 236. 9, idquae ; 16, maiore ; 237. 12, quod ego H M²] quid ego M¹ ; 17, nec] ne ; 32, quam] qua ; 238. 22, prosus ; 24 commendaueris ; 28, titione ; 240. 18, opiniones ; 26, ueni ; 241. 4, seruo ; 34, tuerere] uerere ; 243. 27, iueris ; 244. 10, satis esse notum esse ; 15, et familiarem meum ; 22, accepissem pergrauem ; 245. 13, ut uos soletis] ut uoletis ; 34, cupiam ; 246. 5, et erunt ; 8, adiuues ; 22, me ei] mei ; 247. 4, coli] cogi ; 22, 25, gastris ; 26, se ad hominem se necessarium ; 249. 38, commendes ; 250. 8, rebelli ; 10, ciuium] ciui ; 30, rem] re ; 38, satis satis sibi ; 251. 8, tactaris ; 17, qui ; 19, sis sin eadem ; 32, satisfactorius ; 34, illutque ; 252. 8, memoria ; 253. 37, quodque] quoque ; 254. 18, meam] mea ; 255. 14, cumulis ; 38, is ita] ista ; 39, optinentem eis ; 256. 1, nolim] nolem ; 257. 18, commendari ; 258. 37, summae huius epistula ; 259. 10, Ephesis ; 15, laudem ; 38, tutissimam ; 40, iues ; 260. 6, accommodatam ; 13, eum] dum ; 14, adiuueris ; 261. 7, ei] et ; 9, ut] ui ; ademptum ; 262. 22, uituperationis ; 23, possit] posset ; 263. 7, isti ; 15, testes estis] testis est ; quamquam] quam ; 35, amicitiam ; 264. 12, patefacto ; 22, patri.

Book XIV.—265. 26, uenditurum ; 266. 10, subleuantur ; 14, mea] me ; 18, te] *om.* M ; 34, meae] *om.* M ; 40, confitiar ; 42, uester et] uerteret ; 267. 32, fuisset] fuisse ; 268. 26, non sunt]

sunt ; 42, diligentissime quae ; 269. 1, id quae ; 2, Acastus] castus ; 9, prodeas] propeas ; 270. 1, istic] stic ; 21, pompinium ; 271. 18, est] *om.* M ; 22, si] sit ; 27, fortis sitis ; 29, meae] mae ; 272. 10, cura ut] curant ; 15 adfictus ; 29, utrum] uerum.

Book XV.—276. 1, tridui] truidi ; 19, tuetur ; 34, casu cerbissimo patri ; 277. 7, discederem] discerem ; 9, salute ; 14, beneuolentiae quae ; 16, diligentiam quae ; 29, habuit se iam M¹, habuisse iam M² ; 37, actoritas, M¹ ; 38, gessisse ; 278. 27, partis ; 42, exsilio] consilio M¹ ; 279. 3, discederet] disceret ; 4, comminuta ; 31, castella quae ; 38, aduentu ; 39, ad] *om.* M ; 42, uiniis ; 208. 7, pacatis] patis ; 22, paratissimus ; 23, ut] *om.* M¹ ; 30, non] *om.* M¹ ; 41, difficillime ; 281. 14, firmissimum ; 25, omnibus] omonibus ; 32, communis] commune ; 282. 10, clarior M¹ ; 33, parum iusta tibi uisa est] parum tibi uissa est iusta tibi uisa est (*uerbis tibi uissa est expunctis*) ; 283. 19, dignitati ; 40, scribendas ; 284. 14, ignorat ; 30, geris] gesseris ; 285. 1, maiorumque] malorumque ; 22, tuas summas (*s puncto notata*) M ; 26, consuetudines ; 35, missi ; 286. 10, longis inter interuallis ; 32. contundo ; 287. 14, homines cum homines essemus ; 27, interesse sed quod ; 288. 1, habere ; 9, saluus] salutis ; 12, coepero] coero ; 31, breuis ed ; 289, 31 ex urbe exisse] exur exisse ; 290. 11, utrum sta ; 29, alia] alias ; 37, libentissimi ; 291, 12, missisti ; 20, ceteris] certis ; 25, mittimus] amitimus ; 30, adortabar ; 34, amare.

Book XVI.—292. 11, eadem es sententia] eadem essentia ; 11, uideres ; 293. 37, quin] qui ; et] ut ; 40, corpori serui] corpori seruire corpori serui ; 41, tanti me fieri] tanti a me fieri ; 294. 2, tyroni ; 4, duas H²] duras H¹ M ; 7, ubi ; 17, ut ualeas] ut tua ualeas ; 295. 30, tandem] tantendem ; 296. 4 stiteris] steteris ; 14, effece ; 16, oculus ; 297. 11, capuam] capiam ; 16, salus] saluus ; 20, destiti] destituti ; 298. 9, quod] quem ; 11, cum] quam ; 32, miserius ; 299. 20, gaudio] gaudeo ; 22, debent debent additis ; 29, uolumnia ; 301. 10, costantique ; 17, dupliciter ; 20, noctesque ; 31, cotidianis] cotianis ; 32, mitylenis ; 43, tibi gratulari] ti gratulari ; 302. 17, suspiceres ; 20, multo erit] multo erit tamen ; 36, delegem ; 303. 3, excepto ; 8, hisdem de rebus] hisdem rebus ; diligenti ; 34, poenam] ponam ; 35, lugubrationibus ; 304. 6, libidinum] libinum ; 10, tribunicis.

These are, as I have said, small matters. The really important

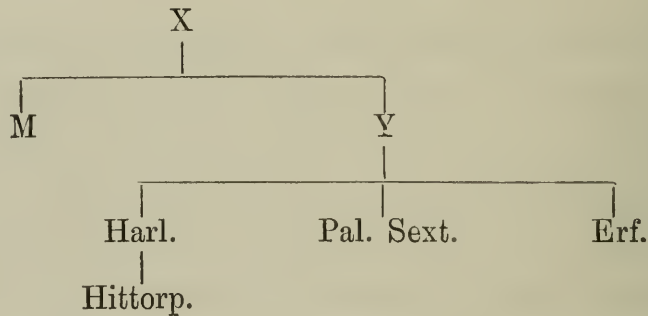
divergences—those that may lead to alterations of the received text—can only be given at the end of this discussion, after a lengthened examination of several of the difficult passages throughout the eight books. But it may not be taking up too much space if we just summarize here the principal *additions* to the received text found in H and omitted in M (the additions are in italics): 155. 40, illos *apud me declamitare me apud eos coenitare*; 164. 21, diligentiae est *tuaeque curae* tum etiam; 175. 41, consentiente *exercitu concordi ac bene de rep. sentiente* sicut; 189. 41, equitum *M. Itaque*; 198. 7, Nesciebam; *Aquilam perisse nesciebam: Caesari*; 216. 39, scripsi *quam reuera furere inueni. Quod uero aliquid de his scripsi mirari noli*; 239. 13, ὃν φότο τόνδ' ἄκεος νεφέλη; 246. 12, id *tibi confirmo* in; 276. 18, dixissem *et tamen adolescentem essem cohortatus*.

After these additions we cannot suppose that H was copied from M. However, it would be very wrong to suppose that their common ancestor (so to speak) was far remote. The following are a few of the important points of agreement in IX.–XII., such as show that M and H cannot be very widely disconnected:—145. 33, γλαυκεῖς; 145. 39, Chrysippas hec (for χρυσιππεία ne an haec; 147. 6, uelle mori uel cum spes si; 152. 19, aestate (*for* est a te); 159. 1, potiu^s *ναπότευγμα*; 159. 12, papius (*for* papisius); 160. 36, inter capedonum, Haec, 162. 23, Phartum; 168. 4, in experiendo in ea; 174. 39, subditis; 180. 18, cui arone (*for* Cularone); 181. 10, quod ad Caesarem attinet uidebamus; 183. 33, diuinum rep. beneficium; 191. 31, unquam his (*for* inuidiam iis); 196. 36 [H. S. mihi fuit pecuniae] *omitted*; 199. 5, frigeo opta non enim (*for* frigeo ὄργανον enim); 200. 30, iam iam (*for* Lamiam); 203. 24, commodum de nobis; 208. 8, fide et *de* constantia; Caesaris *et* totum; 211. 39, tidio; 215. 23, maxime; 216. 15, laudi cenorum; 216. 19, celeriter iter expediri nobis; 217. 33, reliquiae meae diligentiam; 223. 41, senatus aut frequens; 229. 2 [remp] *omitted*; 229. 5, conamur (*for* cogamur).

As to the nature of the *archetype* from which all the ms was derived, I do not feel certain about it in any respect, except that it was in *uncials*. Such variants as the following will show this:—152. 14, tam M, iam H; 170. 39, adlua M, adiuua H; 173. 18, alancem M, aiacem H; 174. 15, eorum M, forum H; 175. 16,

tuare M, iuuare H; 181. 21, iepidus M, lepidus H; 189. 4, gessisse M, cessisse H; 214. 32, pollulum M, pollutum H; 227. 41, agerrimum M, acerrimum H; 247. 22, gastris M, castris H; 261. 7, et M, ei H; 261. 9, ui M, ut H; 269. 9, propeas M, prodeas H; 285. 1, malorumque M, maiorumque H; 303. 35, lugubrationibus M, lucubrationibus H.

The best conclusion I can arrive at on the whole question is this: that from the original archetype of M—let us call it X—and which, as we see was in uncials, was copied another ms, not now forthcoming (Y); and from this latter were copied the three German mss, viz. Harleian, Palatinus Sextus, and Erfurtensis; and the Harleian was the original of the Hittorpianus. The relations of the mss may be represented in the following figure:—



PART IV.

SED EGO DIAETA CURARE INCIPIO, CHIRURGIAE TAEDET.

LETTERS OF THE TWELFTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE (LAST FOUR MONTHS).

EPP. XC.-XCIV.

A. U. C. 697 ; B. C. 57 ; AET. CIC. 49.

COSS. P. CORN. LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CAEC. METELLUS NEPOS.

THE Letters of this year detail the circumstances of Cicero's return from exile with the incidents which were the consequences of his exile, and describe the position in which Cicero found himself on his restoration. This was the year of the speeches, *Post reditum in Senatu*, *Post reditum ad Quirites*, and *De domo sua*. Their authenticity has been questioned, not on altogether sufficient grounds. In any case, whether authentic or not, they are valuable sources of the history of this time.

CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

XC. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. IV. 1).

ROME, A. U. C. 697 ; B. C. 57 ; AET. CIC. 49.

M. Cicero Attico de reditu suo, ad quem conficiendum ille tantum contulerat, gratulatur et quae ipsius condicio sit et quid post reditum suum egerit exponit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum primum Romam veni fuitque cui recte ad te litteras darem, nihil prius faciendum mihi putavi quam ut tibi absenti de reditu nostro gratularer. / Cognoram enim, ut vere scribam, te in consiliis mihi dandis nec fortio rem nec prudentio rem quam me ipsum, nec etiam pro praeterita mea in te observantia nimium in custodia salutis meae diligentem, eundemque te, qui primis temporibus erroris nostri aut potius furoris particeps et falsi timoris socius fuisses, acerbissime discidium nostrum tulisse plurimumque operae, studii, diligentiae, laboris ad conficiendum reditum meum contulisse. 2. Itaque hoc tibi vere adfirmo, in maxima laetitia et exoptatissima gratulatione unum ad cumulandum gaudium con-

1. *recte*] 'safely': cp. Att. v. 5, 2 ; ix. 4, *fin.*

cognoram] 'I felt certain,' *i. e.* during my exile ; *cognovi* = 'I am certain.'

vere] 'frankly.'

nec etiam . . . observantia] This is the reading of Bosius for *nec etiam propter meam in te observantiam* of the mss., which is certainly wrong. It is really the clause beginning with *eundemque* that explains *enim*. The thought of Cicero set forth logically is: 'I was eager to congratulate you on my return, for I felt certain that, in spite of your shortcomings as an

adviser before my exile, yet you felt deeply our separation, and were active in procuring my restoration.' *Eundemque* is so strongly adversative that it must be wrong to interpose a clause referring to Cicero, as Hofm. does in reading *me etiam propter meam in te observantiam*. The words mean, 'I felt that considering my past attentions to you, you were not very energetic in saving me from exile.' *Nimium* is used in quite the same way in Fam. xii. 30, 7, *non nimium probo*, and very frequently in Plautus and Terence. *Idemque* means 'and yet,' in Att. iii. 12, 1.

spectum aut potius complexum mihi tuum defuisse, quem semel nactus si umquam dimisero, ac, nisi etiam praetermissos fructus tuae suavitatis praeteriti temporis omnes exegero, profecto hac restitutione fortunae me ipse non satis dignum iudicabo. 3. Nos adhuc in nostro statu, quod difficillime recuperari posse arbitrati sumus, splendorem nostrum illum forensem; et in senatu auctoritatem et apud viros bonos gratiam magis, quam optamus, consecuti sumus. In re autem familiari, quae quem ad modum fracta, dissipata, direpta sit non ignoras, valde laboramus tuarumque non tam facultatum, quas ego nostras esse iudico, quam consiliorum ad colligendas et constituendas reliquias nostras indigemus. 4. Nunc, etsi omnia aut scripta esse a tuis arbitror aut etiam nuntiis ac rumore perlata, tamen ea tibi scribam brevi, quae te puto potissimum ex meis litteris velle cognoscere. Pridie Nonas Sext. Dyrrhachio sum profectus, ipso illo die, quo lex est lata de nobis. Brundisium veni Nonis Sext. Ibi mihi Tulliola mea fuit praesto natali suo ipso die, qui casu idem natalis erat et Brundisinae coloniae et tuae vicinae Salutis: quae res animadversa a multitudine summa Brundisinorum gratulatione celebrata est. Ante diem VI. Id. Sext. cognovi [cum Brundisii essem], litteris Quinti mirifico studio omnium aetatum atque ordinum, incredibili concursu Italiae legem comitiis centuriatis esse perlatam. Inde a Brundisinis honestissimis ornatus iter ita feci, ut undique ad me

2. *dimisero . . . exegero . . . iudicabo*] For a remarkable admixture of futures, see Fam. xiii. 65, 2, *ornaris . . . feceris . . . capies . . . adfeceris*.

suavitatis praeteriti] 'if I do not exact to the full all arrears of delight in your sweet companionship in the past' (Jeans). For the double gen. cp. Fam. ix. 8, 2, *superiorum temporum fortuna reip.*; there is a triple gen. in Caes. Bell. Gall. ii. 17, *eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus*. Cp. also Att. iv. 4b, 1.

3. *Nos adhuc*] 'as regards my political position, I have attained (what I thought would be very hard to regain) my old leadership at the Bar; and my authority in the senate, and influence with the optimates (I have gained) in fuller measure than I could wish' (because these very advantages might again bring on him such jealousy as had recently brought about his exile). The conjecture

optaramus is quite unnecessary. I have put a fuller stop after *forensem* to bring out more clearly the meaning of the passage; *quod difficillime*, &c., refers only to *splendorem forensem*, while *magis quam optamus* is closely connected with *in senatu auct. et apud bonos viros gratiam*.

4. *natalis*] This was the commemoration day of Brundisium, the day on which the foundation of the colony was celebrated. It was also the birth-day of Tullia, and the foundation-day of the temple of Salus, which stood near the house of Att. on the Quirinal Hill. *Salus* = *aedes Salutis* by a common Latin idiom. Cp. Juv. i. 116, *Quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido*.

Cum Br. essem] These words are found in Z, but are omitted in M. The subj. *essem* would imply that it was owing to his not having left Br. that Cic. did not miss the letter.

cum gratulatione legati convenerint. 5. Ad urbem ita veni, ut nemo ullius ordinis homo nomenclatori notus fuerit qui mihi obviam non venerit praeter eos inimicos, quibus id ipsum, se inimicos esse, non liceret aut dissimulare aut negare. Cum venissem ad portam Capenam, gradus templorum ab infimo plebe completi erant, a qua plausu maximo cum esset mihi gratulatio significata, similis et frequentia et plausus me usque ad Capitolium celebravit, in foroque et in ipso Capitolio miranda multitudo fuit: postridie in senatu, qui fuit dies Nonarum Septembr., senatui gratias egimus. 6. Eo biduo cum esset annonae summa caritas et homines ad theatrum primo, deinde ad senatum concurrissent, impulsu Clodii mea opera frumenti inopiam esse clamarent, cum per eos dies senatus de annona haberetur et ad eius procurationem sermone non solum plebis, verum etiam bonorum Pompeius vocaretur idque ipse cuperet, multitudoque a me nominatim, ut id decernerem, postularet, feci, et accurate sententiam dixi. Cum abessent consulares, quod tuto se negarent posse sententiam dicere, praeter Messallam et Afranium, factum est senatus consultum in meam sententiam, ut cum Pompeio ageretur ut eam rem susceperet lexque ferretur: quo senatus consulto recitato continuo cum more hoc insulso et novo *populus* plausum meo nomine recitando dedisset, habui con-

ita . . . ut] The force of this phrase (the use of which in the letters I have illustrated, vol. i. Introd.) is well brought out by Mr. Jeans in his rendering of this and the next sentence:—‘I could not pursue my journey without being met by deputations from every place with congratulations. When I came near the city this went so far, that not a soul of any rank who was known to my attendant failed to come and meet me, except,’ &c.

5. *infimo*] This is the emendation of Lehmann (in a review of Hofmann in *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, 1880). The phrase *infima plebe* is quite meaningless, and the *ab* is out of place; *ab infimo* means “from the very bottom”; of course the higher steps, as affording a better view, would be occupied first. We find *ab imo adclivis* in *Caes. B. G. iii. 19*; and *ab infimo adclivis* *ib. vii. 19*. The assimilation of *infimo* to *plebe* in gender would be one of the commonest of copyists’ blunders.

dies Nonarum] This is what Draeger calls the *genitivus appositionalis*; cp. *abictis arboribus*, *Liv. xxiv. 3, 4*; *oppidum*

Antiochiae, *Cic. Att. v. 18, 1*; so *Pachyni promontorium*, *familia Scipionum*, *vox voluptatis* (‘that term *voluptas*’). See Draeger, *Historische Syntax* i. 466. Cp. *dies erat adscripta Nonarum Aprilium*, *Fam. iii. 11, 1*; but, on the contrary, we find *is dies fuit Nonae*, *Fam. xvi. 3, 1*.

6. *eo biduo*] ‘two days afterwards’; *illo biduo* means ‘two days before.’

mea opera] Because it was Cicero’s return which brought the unusual numbers to Rome.

decernerem] ‘that I should vote for that measure’ (Watson); *feci*, ‘I did so.’

continuo cum more] Most edd. read *contio* for *continuo*, but this is very harsh before *contionem*. It is better to supply as the missing subject *populus* with Boot; written *pl.* it would very easily have fallen out before *plausum*.

recitando] There is nothing objectionable in this use of the gerundive; we find *cum immolanda Iphigenia Calchas tristis esset*, *Orat. 74*. See Draeger’s *Hist. Syn.* ii. 815. Süpfle gives a good ex. *partis honoribus eodem in foro gessi labores quos petendis*, *Phil. vi. 6, 17*.

tionem: omnes magistratus praesentes praeter unum praetorem et duos tribunos pl. dederunt.^v 7. Postridie senatus frequens et omnes consulares nihil Pompeio postulanti negarunt. Ille legatos quindecim cum postularet, me principem nominavit et ad omnia me alterum se fore dixit. Legem consules conscripserunt, qua Pompeio per quinquennium omnis potestas rei frumentariae toto orbe terrarum daretur: alteram Messius, qui omnis pecuniae dat potestatem et adiungit classem et exercitum et maius imperium in provinciis quam sit eorum, qui eas obtineant. Illa nostra lex consularis nunc modesta videtur, haec Messii non ferenda. Pompeius illam velle se dicit, familiares hanc. | Consulares [duce Favonio] fremunt, nos tacemus et eo magis, quod de domo nostra nihil adhuc pontifices responderunt. Qui si sustulerint religionem, aream praeclaram habebimus, superficiem consules ex senatus consulto aestimabunt: sin aliter, demolientur, suo nomine locabunt, rem totam aestimabunt. 8. Ita sunt res nostrae—

ut in secundis fluxae, ut in adversis bonae.

In re familiari valde sumus, ut scis, perturbati. Praeterea sunt quaedam domestica, quae litteris non committo. Quintum fratrem insigni pietate, virtute, fide praeditum sic amo, ut debeo. Te exspecto et oro ut matures venire eoque animo venias, ut me tuo consilio egere non sinas. Alterius vitae quoddam initium ordimur. Iam quidam, qui nos absentes defenderunt, incipiunt praesentibus occulte irasci, aperte invidere. Vehementer te requirimus.

dederunt] sc. *contionem*, 'invited me to speak': cp. Att. iv. 2, 3.

7. *alterum se*] 'his *alter ego*.'

sustulerint rel.] 'declare the consecration by Clodius null' (Watson).

superficiem] 'the building' which had stood upon the *arca* or 'site,' that is, Cicero's house. *Superficies* is 'whatever stands above the ground,' *cum aedes ex duabus rebus constant, ex solo et superficie*, Dig. xli. 3, 23.

sin aliter] 'but if they decide otherwise (if they decide that the consecration of the site by Clodius holds good), then they will pull down his building, contract for a new temple in their own name, and

estimate the cost of the whole thing'; that is, they will put a slight upon Clodius by not allowing his building to stand; but if the *Pontifices* hold that the consecration was good, they cannot use the site save for a temple. The estimate of the compensation money to Cicero would then have to include the sum requisite for the purchase of a new site, together with the cost of erecting a new house.

8. *ut in*] This is, no doubt, a quotation from some old play, as its metrical character shows. It is used again in the next letter and in Epp. ad. Brut. i. 10, 2.

vitalis initium] He calls this *παλιγγενεσία*, Att. vi. 6, 4.

XCI. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. IV. 2).

ROME, A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.

M. Cicero Attico excusat litterarum raritatem, dein de oratione de domo apud pontifices habita, de contione P. Clodii, de rebus actis in senatu Kal. Octobr., de senatus consulto postridie eius diei secundum causam suam facto et ad Atticum cum his litteris misso, de aestimatione aedium et villarum suarum iniqua, de cogitatione reliqua sua et domesticarum et forensium rerum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Si forte rarius tibi a me quam a ceteris litterae redduntur, peto a te, ut id non modo negligentiae meae, sed ne occupationi quidem tribuas: quae etsi summa est, tamen nulla esse potest tanta, ut interrumpat iter amoris nostri et officii mei. Nam ut veni Romam, iterum nunc sum certior factus esse cui darem litteras, itaque has alteras dedi. Prioribus tibi declaravi adventus noster qualis fuisset et quis esset status atque omnes res nostrae quem ad modum essent—

ut in secundis fluxae, ut in advorsis bonae.

2. Post illas datas litteras secuta est summa contentio de domo. Diximus apud pontifices pridie Kal. Octobres. Acta res est accurate a nobis, et si umquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid, aut etiam, si numquam alias fuimus, tum profecto dolor rei et magnitudo vim quamdam nobis dicendi dedit. Itaque oratio iuventuti nostrae deberi non potest, quam tibi, etiam si non desideras, tamen mittam cito. 3. Cum pontifices decressent ita, SI NEQUE POPULI IUSSU NEQUE PLEBIS SCITU IS, QUI SE DEDICASSE DICERET, NOMINATIM EI REI PRAEFECTUS ESSET NEQUE POPULI IUSSU AUT PLEBIS SCITU ID FACERE IUSSUS ESSET, VIDERI POSSE SINE RELIGIONE EAM PARTEM AREAE M. T. RESTITUI, mihi facta statim est gratulatio—nemo enim dubitabat quin domus nobis esset adiudicata:—cum subito

1. *non modo*] = *non modo non*, when followed by *ne quidem*, and when the predicate of both clauses is the same: cp. Fam. x. 1, 1.

2. *aliquid*] cp. *ego quoque aliquid sum*, Fam. vi. 19, 3; so *nihil esse*, as *te nihil esse cognoscere*, Fam. vii. 27, 2.

dolor rei] 'my indignation at the thing, and the importance of it': cp. *dolor reput-*

sae, Caes. B. C. i. 4, 2. *rei* is both objective and subjective genitive.

deberi] 'to remain an unpaid debt to the rising generation': cp. *tibi hoc video non posse deberi*, Tusc. ii. 67.

3. M. T.] Marco Tullio; for *mihi* of mss. *dic*, *Marco Tulli* were the words in which the presiding magistrate called on Cicero for his vote in the senate.

ille in contionem escendit, quam Appius ei dedit nuntiat iam populo pontifices secundum se decrevisse, me autem vi conari in possessionem venire: hortatur ut se et Appium sequantur et suam Libertatem ut defendant. Hic cum etiam illi infirmi partim admirarentur, partim irriderent hominis amentiam, ego statueram illuc non accedere, nisi cum consules ex senatus consulto porticum Catuli restituendam locassent. 4. Kal. Octobr. habetur senatus frequens. Adhibentur omnes pontifices, qui erant senatores, a quibus Marcellinus, qui erat cupidissimus mei, sententiam primus rogatus quaesivit quid essent in decernendo secuti. Tum M. Lucullus de omnium collegarum sententia respondit religionis iudices pontifices fuisse, legis senatum: se et collegas suos de religione statuisset, in senatu de lege statuturos cum senatu. Itaque suo quisque horum loco sententiam rogatus multa secundum causam nostram disputavit. Cum ad Clodium ventum est, cupiit diem consumere, neque ei finis est factus, sed tamen, cum horas tris fere dixisset, odio et strepitu senatus coactus est aliquando perorare. Cum fieret senatus consultum in sententiam Marcellini, omnibus praeter unum adsentientibus, Serranus *intercessit*. De Serrani intercessiōne statim ambo consules referre coeperunt. Cum sententiae gravissimae dicerentur: senatui placere mihi domum restitui, porticum Catuli locari, auctoritatem ordinis ab omnibus magistratibus defendi: si qua vis esset facta, senatum existimaturum eius opera factum esse, qui senatus consulto intercessisset, Serranus pertimuit et Cornicinus ad suam veterem fabulam rediit:

iam] 'so he announces,' like *οἷν* or *vvv*. Kayser and other edd. accept *inani*, the useless conj. of Bosius.

suam Lib.] 'his statue of liberty,' which he had erected on the site of Cicero's house; pro dom. 108, 110.

infirmi] 'the weak-kneed': cp. *quorum vocibus et concursu terrentur infirmiores*, Caes. B. C. i. 3, 5. See Adn. Crit.

illuc non accedere] 'not to go near the place till the consuls had contracted for the rebuilding of Catulus's portico.' Q. Lutatius Catulus had erected on the site of the house of M. Fulvius Flaccus, and close to the dwelling of Cicero, a portico out of the proceeds of the Cimbric War. This the Clodians had, partially at least, destroyed. Cicero resolved not to set about the work of restoring his own house until this portico should be taken in hands

by the government: pro dom. 102.

4. *Adhibentur*] 'are consulted': cp. *non adhibemur*, 'we are not consulted,' Fam. iv. 7, 6.

Marcellinus] Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, the consul elect.

secuti] 'what was the purport, aim, of their decision,' 'what line they had taken.'

odio] 'persistent outcry'; often 'tediousness': Hor. Sat. i. 7, 6; Ter. Ph. v. 6, 9.

unum] sc. Clodium.

Serranus] Attilius Gavianus Serranus, a tribune who had opposed the return of Cicero: Sest. 72.

pertimuit] 'showed fear'; the *absol.* use of this verb is found elsewhere only in Plautus.

Cornicinus] Gnacus Oppius Cornicinus

abiecta toga se ad generi pedes abiecit. Ille noctem sibi postulavit: non concedebant. Reminiscebantur enim Kal. Ianuar. Vix tandem tibi de mea voluntate concessum est. 5. Postridie senatus consultum factum est id, quod ad te misi. Deinde consules porticum Catuli restituendam locarunt: illam [porticum] redemptores statim sunt demoliti libentissimis omnibus. Nobis superficiem aedium consules de consilii sententia aestimarunt HS. viciens: cetera valde illiberaliter: Tusculanam villam quingentis milibus: Formianum HS. ducentis quinquaginta milibus. Quae aestimatio non modo vehementer ab optimo quoque, sed etiam a plebe reprehenditur. Dices 'quid igitur causae fuit?' Dicunt illi quidem pudorem meum, quod neque negarim neque vehementius postularim. Sed non est id: num hoc quidem etiam profuisset? Verum

was the father-in-law of Serranus. On the kalends of January, when Serranus opposed the restoration of Cicero, Cornicinus threw himself at his son's feet, and implored him to withdraw his veto; Serranus asked for a night's reflection; this was granted, but he persevered in his veto. Cornicinus now 're-enacted his old rôle'; Serranus again made his former request, which was refused, as concession had before proved abortive: *Sest. 74.*

tibi] This is the reading of the Medicean (changed to *sibi* by an obvious blunder in M²). It is idle to strike out *tibi*, and write with some edd. *illi, homini, id ei*, or any other word or words which, while satisfying the sense, do not account for the corruption. Moreover, *tibi* really admits of an excellent explanation. It is the *ethical dative*, which is used far more largely in Cicero than elsewhere, save only the comic drama. 'After all at last, lo and behold you, with my consent the point was conceded.' The emphatic exclamation is justified by the unexpected announcement that Cicero was for conceding the request of Serranus. Cp. *hic tibi rostra Cato advolat*, Att. i. 14, 5; *at ille tibi pergit Brundisium*, viii. 8, 2; *alter tibi descendit de Palatio*, Rosc. Am. 133. We find *ecce tibi* Att. vii. 19, *ecce tibi* iv. Non. Febr. mane accepi litteras tuas. In a quite unimpassioned passage, Rep. vi. 17, we have *novem tibi orbibus . . . conexas sunt omnia*.

5. *misi*] 'I send.' Boot remarks this must be an epistolary perf.; for Cicero must have sent the S. C. with this letter; he would not have sent the S. C. without a letter, and this is certainly the first letter

in which he describes the debate in the senate concerning his indemnification.

[*porticum*] I have bracketed this word. I do not see how it can be explained. Clodius never built a portico on the site of Catulus' portico or Cicero's house. What he erected was a statue of Liberty (pro dom. 108, 110), which is referred to above (§ 3) *suam Libertatem ut defendat*. Now here *illam* may refer to *Libertatem*, though it must be allowed that the pronoun is very far from the noun for which it would stand; or else we must resort to conjecture. Cicero, in pro dom. 111, traces the past history of this statue of Liberty, and finds that the figure which Clodius made to do duty as a statue of Liberty was really the statue of a Greek prostitute, which had been erected on her tomb near Tanagra, and had been annexed and carried to Rome by an aedile, a friend of Clodius. Hence Gronovius ingeniously suggested *illam πόρνην* or *illud πορνίδιον*. But perhaps it is safer to assume that Cicero carelessly made *illam* refer to *Libertatem*, though separated from it by several sentences, and that *porticum* is the interpolation of a copyist. It can hardly be right, for there is not a tittle of evidence that Clodius erected a portico, and the matter is dwelt on in detail in the *pro domo*. Possibly *statuam* fell out before *statim*, or should take the place of *statim*. The order of words in *illam redemptores statuam* is not unlike *de cuius constantia viri*, in § 3 of the next letter.

postularim] 'would lay claim to such a feeling.'

num . . . profuisset?] 'would this (violent expostulation of my part) have done

iidem, mi [T.] Pomponi, iidem, inquam, illi, quos ne tu quidem ignoras, qui mihi pinnae inciderant, nolunt easdem renasci. Sed, ut spero, iam renascuntur. Tu modo ad nos veni: quod vereor ne tardius interventu Varronis tui nostrique facias: 6. Quoniam acta quae sint habes, de reliqua nostra cogitatione cognosce. Ego me a Pompeio legari ita sum passus, ut nulla re impediret. Quod nisi vellem mihi esset integrum, ut, si comitia censorum proximi consules haberent, peterem; possem votivam legationem sumpsisse [prope omnium fanorum, lucorum]. Sic enim nostrae rationes, utilitates meae postulabant. Sed volui meam potestatem esse vel petendi vel ineunte aestate exeundi, et interea me esse in oculis civium de me optime meritorum non alienum putavi. 7. Ac forensium quidem rerum haec nostra consilia sunt, domesticarum autem valde impedita. Domus aedificatur; scis quo sumptu, qua molestia reficiatur Formianum, quod ego nec relinquere possum

any good?' I read *num* for *nam*. Boot, who saw that the ordinary reading *nam hoc quidem etiam profuisset* gave no meaning, reads *nam hoc quid etiam profuisset*. But mine is a slighter change. I would make the same correction in Att. iv. 19, 1, *num* (for *nam*) Vestorio dandi sunt dies?

[T.] The *praenomen* has no place here: see vol. i. Introd. ii. § 1.

interventu] Varro was on a visit with Atticus in Epirus.

6. *impediret*] 'I have suffered myself to be appointed legate to Pompeius only on the understanding that I am not to be hampered by the appointment in any respect.' Cp. *ne forte qua re impediatur atque alliger*, Att. viii. 16, 1; *omnia quae impediunt*, Ac. ii. 7, 19; *nisi tempora reip. impediunt*, Att. vii. 1, 7.

a Pompeio] Madv. would omit *a*; but cp. *legari ab Caesare*, Att. xiv. 13, 4. The constructions are *aliquis aliquem sibi legat*; *aliquis aliquem alicui legat* (Att. iv. 15, 9); *aliquis ab aliquo legatur*, as here.

Quod nisi] *Quod* is merely connexive: as in *quod si*.

esset integrum] The omission of *ut* is one of the many coincidences of the diction of the letters of Cicero and the comic drama: 'were I not desirous to reserve to myself the possibility of becoming a candidate.'

votivam leg.] See on Att. ii. 18, 3.

prope . . . lucorum] One feels much disposed to obelise these words with Ern. Yet it is hard to account for their presence

in the mss. if they are not sound. The gen. might be explained as giving the object of the embassy, as if he had written *lucorum adeundorum causa*. Then the *prope* is very strange: 'nearly any temple or grove I please'; why nearly any? Orelli suggests to read *pro P. R.* for *prope*. *nostrae rationes, utilitates meae*] 'our plans and my interest.' Probably Cicero had some plan for meeting Atticus when on his *votiva legatio*.

exeundi] as *legatus* to Pompeius. The whole meaning of this passage, which has been much misunderstood, is:—'I should have preferred a *legatio votiva* as being more respectable than a *legatio* to an individual, and as affording a chance of meeting you; but my legation to Pompeius on the conditions on which I have accepted it, will leave me the power of leaving Rome when I like, which a *libera legatio* would not do.' The best comment on this passage is to be found in two places in Att. xv., *honestior est votiva* xv. 8, 1; *habent, opinor, liberae legationes definitum tempus lege Iulia nec facile addi potest; aveo genus legationis ut cum velis introire, exire liceat; quod nunc mihi additum est*, xv. 11, 4. The *genus legationis* which he had then accepted was a *legatio* to Dolabella. In a passage just before the words last quoted, the *votiva legatio* is classed as a species of *libera legatio*.

7. *nec relinquere*] 'I can neither abandon it, nor yet can I bear to look at it in its present state.'

nec videre. Tusculanum proscripti: suburbano facile careo. Amicorum benignitas exhausta est in ea re, quae nihil habuit praeter dedecus, quod sensisti tu absens, praesentes, quorum studiis ego et copiis, si esset per meos defensores licitum, facile essem omnia consecutus: quo in genere nunc vehementer laboratur. Cetera, quae me sollicitant, *μυστικώτερα* sunt. Amamur a fratre et a filia. Te exspectamus.

16
XCII. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. IV. 3).

ROME, A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.

M. Cicero Attico, quod credit illum de his rebus a se ipso certiolem fieri velle, de turbis P. Clodii eiusque adsecularum et in area sua et in Catuli porticu et in Q. fratris domo factis et omino de furoribus Clodii et de rebus postea factis nuntiat, maxime de contentione, quae inter Milonem et Clodium intercedat, postremo de re familiari sua pauca significat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Avere *te* certo scio cum scire quid hic agatur tum ea a me scire, non quo certiora sint ea, quae in oculis omnium geruntur, si a me scribantur, quam cum ab aliis aut scribuntur tibi aut nuntiantur, verum ut perspicias ex meis litteris quo animo ea feram, quae geruntur, et qui sit hoc tempore aut mentis meae sensus aut omnino vitae status. 2. Armatis hominibus ante diem tertium Non.

proscripti] 'I have advertised it for sale.'
suburbano facile careo] M² has *non* before *facile*, and is followed by most edd. If we read *facile careo*, we must suppose *suburbano* to refer to *Tusculanum*: 'I can do without a place so near the city'; but if *non* be inserted, *suburbanum* refers to another property near to Rome, not the Tusculanum. We have *malo enim esse in Tusculano aut uspiam in suburbano*, Att. xvi. 13 b, 1. Cicero did not sell his Tusculan villa; in Att. xii. 3, 1, he puts his *Tusculanum* on a par with the *μακάρων νῆσοι*.

in ea re] i.e. the hiring of the bands of gladiators to face the followers of Clodius during the exile of Cicero.

quod sensisti] 'This you in your absence have seen to be true, and so have my friends here (in Rome), through

whose zealous aid I might have easily gained all that I had lost (by getting an adequate indemnification for my losses), if my (pretended) champion (Pompeius) had permitted it.' This is the explanation given by Hofm., Süpfe, and Frey; nor can the passage be otherwise explained with the present reading, which is that of the mss. Gron. reads (*quod sensisti tu absens praescns*, as a parenthesis) 'which you perceived, both when, parted from me, you in Rome supported me in Epirus; and when, in Rome, you ministered personally to the needs of my family.'

praesentes] sc. *senserunt*. Observe the *asyndeton*.

quo in genere] 'in which respect,' i.e. 'in my money matters.'

μυστικώτερα] *sub rosa*, probably refers to a quarrel with his wife.

Novembr. expulsi sunt fabri de area nostra, disturbata porticus Catuli, quae ex senatus consulto consulum locatione reficiebatur et ad tectum paene pervenerat: Quinti fratris domus primo fracta coniectu lapidum ex area nostra, deinde inflammata iussu Clodii, inspectante urbe, coniectis ignibus, magna querella et gemitu, non dicam bonorum, qui nescio an nulli sint, sed plane hominum omnium. Ille demens ruere, post hunc furorem nihil nisi caedem inimicorum cogitare, vicatim ambire, servis aperte spem libertatis ostendere. Etenim antea, cum iudicium nolebat, habebat ille quidem difficilem manifestamque causam, sed tamen causam: poterat infitiri, poterat in alios derivare, poterat etiam aliquid iure factum defendere. Post has ruinas, incendia, rapinas, desertus a suis, vix iam Decimum designatorem, vix Gellium retinet, servorum consiliis utitur, videt, si omnes quos vult palam occiderit, nihilo suam causam difficiliorem quam adhuc sit in iudicio futuram.

3. Itaque ante diem tertium Idus Novembr., cum Sacra via descenderem, insecutus est me cum suis. Clamor, lapides, fustes, gladii, haec improvisa omnia. Discessimus in vestibulum Tettii Damionis. Qui erant mecum, facile operas aditu prohibuerunt. Ipse occidi potuit. Sed ego diaeta curare incipio, chirurgiae taedet. Ille omnium vocibus cum se non ad iudicium, sed ad supplicium praesens trudi videret, omnes Catilinas Acidinos postea reddidit. Nam Milonis domum, eam, quae est in Cermalo, pridie Idus Novembr.

2. *pervenerat*] 'it (the building) had advanced nearly to the roof,' i. e. was completed nearly to the roofing. Cp. *si lupinum ad siliquas non pervenit*, 'does not come to the pods,' Varr. R. R. i. 23.

urbe] = *civibus*, a poetical usage, but natural enough in a letter; so *ruinas* below is a strange expression. The omission of *est* after *fracta* and *inflammata* is also due to the vehemence of the description.

qui nescio] 'for I am not sure that the race is not extinct.'

ruere] 'runs riot.'

nolebat] 'when he was trying to shirk the trial' on the charge *de vi*, which Milo brought against him when the bill was brought forward for Cicero's restoration.

manifestam] 'obviously bad case,' so *manifestum hominem*, 'obviously guilty': Pl. Men. iv. 2, 29.

ruinas] 'wrecking of houses.' The same word is applied metaphorically to

'the downfall' of the republic, which ensued on the quarrel between Pompeius and Caesar, Att. x. 1, 1; Fam. v. 17, 1.

designatorem] 'funeral-marshal.'

Gellium] See *Sest.* 110; *Q. Fr.* ii. 1, 1. He was a Roman knight, brother of L. Gellius Publicola, who was cons. 682.

3. *diaeta curare*] 'to use regimen' as opposed to the violent methods of surgery. *Curare*, 'to use treatment,' is used thus *absol.* by Quintilian—*ne medicus quidem an doloris habeat* (scit); *curabit tamen tanquam id verum sit, et erit ars medicina*, Quintil. Inst. Or. ii. 17, 39.

reddidit] 'he made every Catiline seem thenceforth an Acidinus' (i. e. most respectable: see *Leg. Agr.* ii. 64). Cp. num potui Ciliciam Aetoliam reddere, Att. v. 20, 1 (Boot).

Cermalo] part of the Palatine Hill near the *Tiber*. This house appears not to be the same as the *Anniana domus* mentioned below.

expugnare et incendere ita conatus est, ut palam hora v. cum seutis homines, eductis gladiis, alios cum accensis facibus adduxerit. Ipse domum P. Sullae pro castris sibi ad eam impugnationem sumpserat. Tum ex Anniana [Milonis] domo Q. Flaccus eduxit viros acres, occidit homines ex omni latrocinio Clodiano notissimos: ipsum cupivit, sed ille se in interiora aedium Sullae. Exin senatus postridie Idus: domi Clodius: egregius Marcellinus: omnes acres. | Metellus calumnia / dicendi | tempus exemit adiuvante Appio, etiam hercule familiari tuo, de cuius constantia viri tuae verissimae litterae. | Sestius furere. Ille postea, si comitia sua non fierent, urbi minari. Proposita Marcellini sententia, quam ille de scripto ita dixerat, ut totam nostram causam areae, incendiorum, periculi mei iudicio complecteretur eaque omnia comitiis anteferebat, nisi anteferebat proscripsit se per omnes dies comitiales de caelo servaturum. 4. Contiones turbulentae Metelli, temerariae Appii, furiosissimae Publii. Haec tamen summa: nisi Milo in campo obnuntiasset, comitia futura. Ante diem XII Kal. Decembr. Milo ante mediam noctem cum magna manu in campum venit. Clodius, cum haberet fugitivorum delectas copias, in campum ire non est ausus. Milo permansit ad meridiem mirifica hominum laetitia, summa cum gloria: contentio fratrum trium turpis, fracta vis, contemptus furor. Metellus tamen postulat, ut sibi postero die in

impugnationem] ἀπαξ εἰρημένον.

cupivit] sc. occidere.

calumnia] 'by the artifice of talking out the bill.'

se in interiora aedium] sc. recepit.

Marcellinus] was the consul designate. The question was, whether a *senatus consultum* should be passed to put Clodius on his trial for his riots at the site of Cicero's house. Now if the debate in the senate could be protracted till the election of aediles began, Clodius might be elected aedile (as he in fact was), and so might elude the trial. So Metellus proceeded to 'talk out the bill' (*calumnia dicendi tempus exemit*). Marcellinus brought forward a written resolution (which showed his sense of the importance of the case), providing that the trial should include all the riotous conduct of Clodius, and should be held before the elections. Further to baffle Clodius, he gave notice that he would 'watch the heavens' during all the days of the election, and so absolutely prevent

the election (and consequent escape) of Clodius. The issue of it was, that the election would have been held, had not Milo stopped it by announcing ominous signs in the sky. See Adn. Crit.

familiari tuo] Hortensius, whom Atticus had commended in writing to Cicero; *verissimae* is ironical.

nisi anteferebat] These words Mr. Purser proposes to insert; rightly, as I think.

4. campum] the *Campus Martius*.

fratrum trium] 'those three kinsmen'; Appius and Clodius were brothers, *fratres germani*; Metellus was their cousin *frater patruelis*.

turpis] is the predicate, 'ended in humiliation.'

postulat ut] 'Metellus says Milo must repeat his obstructive tactics in the forum; his ruse of repairing to the *Campus Martius* by night would avail Milo nought; he (Metellus) would be in the forum at six in the morning.' This was a stratagem on the part of Metellus, who pro-

foro obnuntietur: nihil esse quod in campum nocte veniretur: se hora prima in comitio fore. Itaque ante diem xi Kal. in comitium Milo de nocte venit. Metellus cum prima luce furtim in campum itineribus prope deviis currebat: adsequitur inter lucos hominem Milo, obnuntiat. Ille se recepit, magno et turpi Q. Flacci convitio. Ante diem x. Kal. nundinae: contio biduo nulla. 5. Ante diem viii. Kal. haec ego scribebam hora noctis nona. Milo campum iam tenebat. Marcellus candidatus ita stertebat, ut ego vicinus audirem. Clodii vestibulum vacuum sane mihi nuntiabatur: pauci pannosi: linea lanterna. Meo consilio omnia illi fieri querebantur, ignari quantum in illo heroe esset animi, quantum etiam consilii. Miranda virtus est. Nova quaedam divina mitto. Sed haec summa est: comitia fore non arbitror: reum Publium, nisi ante occisus erit, fore a Milone puto: si se in turba ei iam obtulerit, occisum iri ab ipso Milone video. Non dubitat facere, prae se fert, casum illum nostrum non extimescit. Numquam enim cuiusquam invidi et perfidi consilio est usus nec inerti nobili crediturus. 6. Nos animo dumtaxat vigemus, etiam magis quam cum florebamur: re familiari comminuti sumus. Quinti fratris tamen liberalitati pro facultatibus nostris, ne omnino exhaustus essem, illo recusante subsidiis amicorum respondimus. Quid consilii de omni nostro statu capiamus te absente nescimus. Qua re appropera.

posed, having diverted Milo's attention to the *forum*, to hold the election in the *Campus*, before Milo could obstruct.

lucos] a spot between the Capitol and the Campus where Romulus founded his Asylum, Liv. i. 8.

5. *scribebam*] This and the subsequent *imperfects* are good examples of the epistolary use of this tense.

pannosi] 'a few ragged roughs: a canvas lantern.' The better lanterns were made of horn; cp. *qui vulcanum in cornu conclusum geris*, Pl. Amph. i. 1, 188. For the nominatives without a verb, cp. § 3, *clamor lapides fustes gladii*.

heroe] sc. Milone.

nova . . . mitto] 'I pass over his recent splendid deeds.' So *divinitus* is used in Att. i. 16, 9; ii. 21, 6.

reum . . . fore a] a Plautine construction, but not therefore to be suspected in a letter of Cicero.

casum nostrum] i. e. exile

invidi] refers specially to Hortensius, *perfidi* to Pompeius, while 'weak aristocrat' is a term generally applicable to Lucullus, Philippus, and the other *piscinarii*, who deserted Cicero in his need.

6. *Quinti . . . respondimus*] 'I have repaid the generosity of my brother Quintus by appealing to the aid of my friends, instead of using my own resources, inasmuch as he refuses to accept aid from me personally, lest I should be completely beggared.' So Boot. But I very much doubt that Cicero could have used *pro facultatibus* in such a sense. It seems far better to render with Or., 'I have repaid my brother's generosity so far as my own means would allow, (and) now that he refuses my aid, lest I should be completely drained, I have appealed to the purses of my friends.' The *asyndeton* is a characteristic feature of the letters: see, e. g., Epp. xc. § 6, xci. § 7, and xciii. § 2.

XCIII. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS, IN SARDINIA
(Q. FR. II. 1).

ROME, A. U. C. 697 ; B. C. 57 ; AET. CIC. 49.

M. Cicero Q. fratri tum in Sardinia degenti scribit quid in senatu sit actum, referente primum Lupo de lege C. Caesaris, qua agrum Campanum plebi Romanae dividi voluerat, deinde Racilio de iudiciis, utrum ante an post aedilicia comitia habenda sint.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SAL.

1. Epistolam, quam legisti, mane dederam. Sed fecit humaniter Licinius, quod ad me misso senatu vesperi venit, ut si quid esset actum ad te, si mihi videretur, perscriberem. Senatus fuit frequentior, quam putaramus esse posse mense Decembri sub dies festos. Consulares nos fuimus P. Servilius, M. Lucullus, Lepidus, Volcatius, Glabrio ; duo consules designati ; praetores. Sane frequentes fuimus : omnino ad ducentos. Commorat expectationem Lupus. Egit causam agri Campani sane accurate. Auditus est magno silentio. Materiam rei non ignoras. Nihil ex nostris actionibus praetermisit. Fuerunt non nulli aculei in Caesarem,

1. *humaniter*] 'courteously.'

sub] According to Mr. Roby (Lat. Gram., § 2123 ff.) *sub*, when used with accus. and indicating time, always means *just after*, never *just before* ; he understands *sub noctem* always to mean 'immediately on the fall of night' ; *sub galli cantum*, 'just after cockerow.' But this passage, with others (for which see note by Dr. Maguire in *Hermathena*, No. VIII., p. 420), distinctly shows that Mr. Roby is mistaken. *Sub dies festos* must mean 'just before the holidays,' for if the holidays had begun the senate could not have been held. The *dies festi* which approached were the *Saturnalia* and *Opalia*. Cp. esp. Hor. C. i. 8, 14 ; ii. 18, 17.

P. Servilius] Isauricus, cons. 675 with Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

M. Lucullus] M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, cons. 681 with C. Cassius Varus.

Lepidus, Volcatius] M'. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Volcatius Tullus were cons. 688.

Glabrio] M'. Acilius, cons. with C. Calpurnius Piso, 687.

duo cons. des.] Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus and L. Marcus Philippus.

praetores] All the praetors were present, hence no names are given.

frequentes] That is, it was a full house, considering that it was December, and the eve of a festival. For we read elsewhere of meetings of the senate numbering above 300 and 400 members.

Lupus] P. Rutilius. He spoke against Caesar's law proposed in his consulate, for the division of the Campanian land.

Materiam] 'you know what fine materials for a speech the proposal about the Campanian land affords ; he dwelt on all the measures I took in that matter,' i. e. his action against the bill of P. Servilius Rullus.

aculei] 'telling hits' against Caesar. Gellius was a creature of Clodius mentioned in the last letter. Pompeius was absent in the execution of his commission to supervise the corn supply. L. and S. wrongly mark this word and its affines, *aculeus*, *aculeatus*. It is really *aculeus*, *aculeatus*, &c.

contumeliae in Gellium, expostulationes cum absente Pompeio. Causa sero perorata sententias se rogaturum negavit, ne quod onus simultatis nobis imponeret: ex superiorum temporum convitiis et ex praesenti silentio quid senatus sentiret se intellegere. Dixit Milo. Coepit dimittere. Tum Marcellinus: 'Noli,' inquit, 'ex taciturnitate nostra, Lupe, quid aut probemus hoc tempore aut improbemus iudicare. Ego, quod ad me attinet itemque arbitrator ceteros, ideirco taceo, quod non existimo, cum Pompeius absit, causam agri Campani agi convenire.' Tum ille se senatum negavit tenere. 2. Racilius surrexit et de iudiciis referre coepit. Marcellinum quidem primum rogavit. Is cum graviter de Clodianis incendiis, trucidationibus, lapidationibus questus esset, sententiam dixit, ut ipse iudices per praetorem urbanum sortiretur, iudicium sortitione facta comitia haberentur: qui iudicia impedisset, eum contra rem publicam esse facturum. Approbata valde sententia C. Cato contra dixit et Cassius maxima acclamatione senatus, cum comitia iudiciis anteferebat. Philippus adsensit Lentulo. 3. Postea Racilius de privatis me primum sententiam rogavit. Multa feci verba de toto furore latrocinioque P. Clodii: tamquam reum accusavi, multis et secundis admurmurationibus cuncti senatus. Orationem meam collaudavit satis multis verbis, non mehercule indiserte, Vetus Antistius: isque iudiciorum causam suscepit antiquissimamque se habiturum dixit. Ibatur in eam sententiam. Tum Clodius rogatus diem dicendo eximere coepit. Furebat a Racilio se contumaciter *inurbaneque* vexatum. Deinde eius operae repente a Graecostasi et gradibus clamorem satis magnum sustulerunt, opinor in Q. Sextilium et amicos Milonis incitatae.

Coepit] sc. Lupus. The formula for dismissing the senate was, *Patres conscripti nemo vos tenet*, or *nihil vos moramur*. Hence below, *se senatum negavit tenere*.

2. *Racilius*] L. Racilius, a tribune.

ipse] sc. Clodius.

C. Cato] a tribune: see Q. Fr. i. 2, 15.

Cassius] C. Longinus, a tribune.

acclamatione] 'murmurs': cp. Att. i. 16, 4; *acclamatio* in the sense of 'shouts of approbation' = 'acclamation,' is post-Ciceronian.

Lentulo] One of the consuls elect, called above Marcellinus.

3. *Antistius*] another tribune.

Ibatur] See note on Att. i. 19, 9 (Ep. xxv); a *discessio* was being made in favour of this opinion; that is, those who agreed with this view went and stood by Antistius and the consuls elect; it was thus seen that their views commanded the strongest support in the house; so Clodius again tried to talk out the sitting.

Graecostasis] 'the Greek legation,' a building near the *Curia* and the *comitium* where Greek ambassadors (and afterwards ambassadors from other nations) were lodged when they came to Rome. The *gradus* referred to are the steps up to the *Curia*.

Eo metu iniecto repente magna querimonia omnium discessimus. Habes acta unius diei : reliqua, ut arbitror, in mensem Ianuarium reiicientur. De tribunis pl. longe optimum Racilius habemus : videtur etiam Antistius amicus nobis fore : nam Plancius totus noster est. Fac, si me amas, ut considerate diligenterque naviges de mense Decembri.

XCIV. TO M. FADIUS GALLUS (FAM. VII. 26).

TUSCULANUM, A. U. C. 697 ; B. C. 57 ; AET. CIC. 49.

M. Cicero narrat Gallo herbas in augurali cena suaviter conditas et a se avidius comesas sibi morbum attulisse.

CICERO S. D. GALLO.

1. Cum decimum iam diem graviter ex intestinis laborarem neque iis, qui mea opera uti volebant, me probarem non valere, quia febrim non haberem, fugi in Tusculanum, cum quidem biduum ita ieiunus fuisset, ut ne aquam quidem gustarem. Itaque confectus languore et fame magis tuum officium desideravi, quam a te requiri putavi meum. Ego autem cum omnes morbos reformido, tum, in quo Epicurum tuum Stoici male accipiunt, quia dicat *στραγγουρικὰ καὶ δυσεντερικὰ πάθη* sibi molesta esse, quorum alterum morbum edacitatis esse putant, alterum etiam turpioris intemperantiae. Sane *δυσεντερίαν* pertimueram. Sed visa est mihi vel loci mutatio vel animi etiam relaxatio vel ipsa fortasse iam senescentis morbi remissio profuisse. 2. Ac tamen, ne mirere unde

reiicientur] 'will be put off to.'

Plancius] quaestor of Macedonia, who had so warmly befriended Cicero during his exile.

de mense Decembri] 'in consequence of (its being) the month of Dec.' This is a rare use of *de*; cp. *passu de vulnere tardo*, Ov. M. x. 49. But perhaps this *de* should be compared rather with *de* in *de nocte, de die*.

1. *male accipiunt*] 'misconstrue' or 'handle roughly': both explanations suit the expression and the sense.

tuum] Gallus was an Epicurean.

alterum] The first *alterum* (= the latter) refers to *δυσεντερικὰ πάθη* (dysentery); the second *alterum* (= the former) refers to *στραγγουρικὰ πάθη* (strangury), which was supposed to be the result of sexual incontinence. This passage is generally misunderstood, because it is taken for granted that the first *alterum* must mean 'the former'; but this is not so. See Fam. i. 7, 1, where the first *alterum* = "the latter," the second *alterum* = "the former."

hoc acciderit quo modove commiserim, lex sumptuaria, quae videtur λιτότητα attulisse, ea mihi fraudi fuit. Nam dum volunt isti lauti terra nata, quae lege excepta sunt, in honorem adducere, fungos, helvellas, herbas omnes ita condiunt, ut nihil possit esse suavius. In eas cum incidissem in cena augurali apud Lentulum, tanta me διάρροια adripuit, ut hodie primum videatur coepisse consistere. Ita ego, qui me ostreis et muraenis facile abstinebam, a beta et a malva deceptus sum. Posthaec igitur erimus cautiores. Tu tamen cum audisses ab Anicio—vidit enim me nauseantem—non modo mittendi causam iustam habuisti, sed etiam visendi. Ego hic cogito commorari, quoad me reficiam : nam et vires et corpus amisi. Sed, si morbum depulero, facile, ut spero, illa revocabo.

2. *commiserim*] ‘And strange to say, in case you should wonder how this came about, and how I incurred this ailment, it was the Aemilian law, which you would think was for plain living, that played me false. For our *bon vivants*, wishing to popularise the fruits of the earth which are not under the ban of the sumptuary law, cook mushrooms, potherbs, and every kind of vegetable, in the most charming way in the world.’ For the Lex Aemilia here referred to, see Gell. N. A. ii. 24, 12. This passage clearly shows that it is the *Lex Aemilia* (639 a. u. c.) which is here referred to, not the *Lex Licinia* mentioned *ibid.* § 7.

Lentulus] P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther was the son of the consul for this year (697) of the same name, who was active in the restoration of Cicero, and was afterwards pro-consul of Cilicia 698. Lentulus, the son, was made augur this year, whence the date of this letter is inferred. He was adopted by Manlius Torquatus into the Manlian gens, so that he might become eligible for the augurate.

Man. says (I know not on what authority) that it was forbidden by law that there should be two augurs of the same gens. Now one of the existing augurs was Faustus Cornelius, son of the dictator Sulla. Hence by his adoption he eluded this statute. The Latin phrase for ‘to elude a law’ is *fraudem facere legi*. Hence, in the words *fraudem fecit* above there is, perhaps, a satirical allusion to the host at whose table Cicero incurred his ailment. The Aemilian law played him false, as his host had played false with another statute.

consistere] ‘to stop’; the word is used in a slightly different sense, though applied to a disease, in Cels. iii. 2, *videndum an morbus increseat an consistat* an minuatur, where *consistat* means *remains unchanged, neither better nor worse*.

audisses] sc. *me aegrotum esse*. Cp. cum ita me adfectum videas ut neminem umquam nec videris nec audieris, Att. iii. 13, 2.

illa] sc. *corpus et vires*. ‘I shall soon regain my flesh and strength.’

LETTERS OF THE THIRTEENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. XCV.-CXVII.

A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

COSS. CN. CORN. LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

THE Letters of this year are chiefly to P. Lentulus Spinther, in Cilicia, and Q. Cicero, in Sardinia. We have a detailed description of the intrigues which arose from the question who should receive the commission to restore Ptolemy XII. to the throne of Alexandria. In a Letter written 699 (Fam. I. 9) to Lentulus, Cicero closely analyzes his political position at this time; it should be carefully studied. Further comment is unnecessary if this be kept in mind, that Cicero was first a *litterateur* and next a politician. The Republic of the Scipios fired his imagination. His aspiration was to play Laelius to the Scipio of Pompeius. He did not see that the Republic of the Scipios was now an anachronism. No admirer of Cicero should claim for him the fame of an astute politician. His tastes did not lead him to politics, but his commanding preeminence as the wielder of written and spoken words forced on him a leadership, which cost him his life.

This was the year of the epoch-making interview between Caesar and Pompeius at Luca.

The main object of Cicero's political life had been (to use the well-chosen words of Mr. Watson) 'to maintain a good understanding between Pompeius, the optimate leaders, and the Equites.' Cicero had discovered by bitter expe-

rience (in the matter of his exile) how mindless and purposeless the optimates were. He had seen that the whole party was invertebrate, and that the only symptom of vertebration in their policy was jealousy of him, Cicero, who was really the only bulwark of the optimates. What was Cicero to do? The God leads like to like. And the only like to Cicero was the unrivalled General Pompeius; and again, the marvellous genius Caesar, whose true greatness was yet to be proved, but who had already shown his paramount ability by his just appreciation of the value of the support of Cicero. Hence we find in the letters of this year strong evidences of a *rapprochement* to the triumvirs. His *παλιγγενεσία*, as he calls it, is commented on in the notes; and the letters of Cicero himself (written without any expectation that they would ever meet any other eye than the eye of him to whom they were addressed) supply the best possible comment on his political attitude at this time. In this year Tullia, Cicero's daughter, was betrothed to Furius Crassipes, and Atticus was married to Pilia. The chief speeches of 698 (56) were: *pro Sestio, in P. Vatinius, pro L. Calpurnio Bestia, de haruspicum responsis, de provinciis consularibus, pro M. Caelio, pro L. Cornelio Balbo.*

XCV. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA.
(FAM. I. 1).

ROME, A. U. C. 698 ; B. C. 56 ; AET. CIC. 50.

Rex Aegypti Ptolemaeus a suis regno eiectus, ut per populum Romanum reduceretur in regnum, largitionibus laborabat. Dicebatur carmen Sibyllinum obstare, quod vetabat regem cum multitudine reduci. P. Lentulus Ciliciae tum proconsul regem reducere cupiebat et rem per amicos suos Romae agitabat, quum alii Cn. Pompeio eam rem mandari vellent. Iam M. Cicero quid his de rebus in senatu actum sit P. Lentulum edocet.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Ego omni officio ac potius pietate erga te ceteris satis facio omnibus, mihi ipse numquam satis facio. Tanta enim magnitudo est tuorum erga me meritorum, ut, quia tu nisi perfecta re de me non conquiesti, ego, quia non idem in tua causa efficio, vitam mihi esse acerbam putem. In causa haec sunt. Hammonius, regis legatus, aperte pecunia nos oppugnat. Res agitur per eosdem creditores, per quos, cum tu aderas, agebatur. Regis causa si qui sunt qui velint, qui pauci sunt, omnes rem ad Pompeium deferri volunt. Senatus religionis calumniam non religione, sed malevolentia et illius regiae largitionis invidia comprobatur.

1. *perfecta re*] 'only when the whole business was accomplished.'

tua causa] Ptolemy XII., surnamed Auletes, King of Egypt, and father of Cleopatra and of the Ptolemy who afterwards ordered the death of Pompeius, had been driven from his kingdom by his subjects, whom he had alienated by excessive taxation and oppressions of various kinds. Ptolemy appealed to the senate to restore him. They were disposed to grant his request; but their difficulty was to decide between the rival candidates for the office of restoring the king. These were P. Lentulus Spintner, who as governor of Cilicia would naturally have been appointed, were it not that Pompeius craved that military command which he had failed to attain as Commissioner of the corn supply. The appointment of Pompeius the senate strongly opposed, and their hands were strengthened by the tribune C. Cato, who had recourse, as usual, to the forms of the state religion, and pro-

duced a Sibylline oracle forbidding that the king should be restored *cum multitudine hominum*. Thus the decision was postponed. Eventually Ptolemy was restored by A. Gabinius, proconsul of Syria, on his own responsibility.

in causa haec sunt] 'the reasons (of my failure hitherto) are these.'

creditores] persons at Rome who made loans to Ptolemy's agent wherewith to bribe senators to accede to the king's request.

causa . . . velint] 'are attached to him.' The whole phrase is *omnia alicuius causae*, Fam. xiii. 22, 1 ; 55, 1 ; but *omnia* is often omitted, as here.

religionis calumniam] 'the trumped-up cavil about the Sibylline books.'

malevolentia] to Pompeius, whom they did not wish to see invested with a military command.

largitionis invidia] 'disgust' at the wholesale bribery used by the king.

2. Pompeium et hortari et orare, etiam liberius accusare et monere, ut magnam infamiam fugiat, non desistimus. Sed plane nec precibus nostris nec admonitionibus relinquit locum. Nam cum in sermone cotidiano tum in senatu palam sic egit causam tuam, ut neque eloquentia maiore quisquam nec gravitate nec studio nec contentione agere potuerit, cum summa testificatione tuorum in se officiorum et amoris erga te sui. Marcellinum† tibi esse iratum† scis. Is hac regia causa excepta ceteris in rebus se acerrimum tui defensorem fore ostendit. Quod dat accipimus: quod instituit referre de religione et saepe iam rettulit, ab eo deduci non potest.

3. Res ante Idus acta sic est—nam haec Idibus mane scripsi—Hortensii et mea et Luculli sententia cedit religioni de exercitu—teneri enim res aliter non potest,—sed ex illo senatus consulto, quod te referente factum est, tibi decernit, ut regem reducas, quod commodo rei publicae facere possis, ut exercitum religio tollat, te auctorem senatus retineat. Crassus tris legatos decernit nec excludit Pompeium: censet enim etiam ex iis, qui cum imperio sint: Bibulus tris legatos, ex iis, qui privati sunt. Huic adsentiuntur reliqui consulares praeter Servilium, qui omnino reduci negat

2. *infamiam*] ‘discreditable imputations’ (Jeans).

contentione] ‘earnestness.’

iratum] Why? Perhaps (it is suggested) because Lentulus had moved the bill giving Pompeius the Corn Commissionership. But why should Marcellinus resent this step on the part of Lentulus? Moreover, the sequel of the passage is inconsistent with such an explanation: ‘you know that M. is incensed against you: in everything save this one matter of Ptolemy’s restoration he promises to be your most vigorous champion’—a strange sentiment towards a man against whom one is incensed! It is rather one which we should expect from a friend, who is, however, unable conscientiously to act a friend’s part in one particular transaction, but is eager to atone for this one defection by increased devotion on other points. Perhaps Cicero wrote some such word as *gratum* or *non ingratum*. The copyist would write *iratum*, seeing that on this one point Marcellinus was opposing the interests of Lentulus. The ancient edd. felt this difficulty. Corrad. records a conjecture *regi* for *tibi*, which is far too violent: again, the margin of C bears the ingenious conjecture

tibicini, i. e. *Ptolemaeo Auletæ* (αὐλητῆς).

The words of the text can be reconciled with sense only by understanding *tibi* in the sense of *tuæ causæ regiae*, which seems impossible. *Iratum* or *tibi* must be unsound. Boot (1880) accepts *tibicini*.

quod instituit] *quod* is rel.

3. *mea . . . retineat*] ‘my view, as well as that of Lucullus and Hortensius, concedes to religious scruples the point about employing an army for his restoration—for else we cannot carry our point [and give the commission to you], but grants to you, in accordance with the terms of the resolution which you yourself put [namely, that the governor of Cilicia should restore Ptolemy], the restoration of the king, so far as you can do it without injuring the state [i. e. without the employment of an army, against the warning of the Sibylline books]; so that the senate may retain you as the responsible person for the king’s restoration, while the religious difficulty makes the employment of an army impossible.’

sint . . . sunt] If the text is sound, the distinction in mood implies that *qui cum imperio sint* constitute a class less definite than *qui privati sunt*. Cp. Ep. ciii. § 1.

oportere, et Volcatium, qui Lupo referente Pompeio decernit, et Afranium, qui adsentitur Volcatio. Quae res auget suspicionem Pompeii voluntatis: nam animadvertebatur Pompeii familiares adsentiri Volcatio. Laboratur vehementer: inclinata res est. Libonis et Hypsaei non obscura concursatio et contentio omniumque Pompeii familiarum studium in eam opinionem rem adduxerunt, ut Pompeius cupere videatur: cui qui nolunt, iidem tibi, quod eum ornasti, non sunt amici. 4. Nos in causa auctoritatem eo minorem habemus, quod tibi debemus. Gratiam autem nostram exstinguit hominum suspitio, quod Pompeio se gratificari putant. Ut in rebus multo ante, quam profectus es, ab ipso rege et ab intimis ac domesticis Pompeii clam exulceratis, deinde palam a consularibus exagitatis et in summam invidiam adductis, ita versamur. Nostram fidem omnes, amorem tui absentis praesentes tui cognoscent. Si esset in iis fides, in quibus summa esse debebat, non laboraremus.

suspicionem] 'this circumstance confirms our surmise as to what the real wishes of Pompeius are.'

Laboratur . . . est] 'it is a great struggle, and we are losing ground.'

Libonis . . . contentio] 'the undisguised way in which L. and H. are rushing about and straining every nerve' (Jeans). L. Scribonius Libo was at this time a tribune; he was afterwards active on the side of Pompeius against Caesar; his daughter was the wife of Sex. Pompeius. P. Plautius Hypsaeus, a tribune, had been quaestor to Pompeius, Att. iii. 8, 3.

nolunt] See n. on Q. Fr. i. 2, 11 (Ep. liii.).

ornasti] 'supplied him with means' by bestowing on him the commissioner-ship of supplies.

4. *debemus*] 'I am your debtor,' i.e. for services done to me and not repaid. Cp. my note on *debuisssem*, Att. iii. 15, 4 (Ep. lxxiii.).

gratiam . . . putant] 'my influence is counteracted by the general surmise which I have spoken of (namely, that P. wants the commission for himself), because my friends think that in opposing my exertions on your behalf they are obliging Pompeius.' This can hardly mean, 'people suspect that P. would be pleased if they supported my proposal on your behalf, and therefore (so unpopular is P.),

they oppose it,' because if P. really wanted the commission for himself, he could not be supposed to welcome Cicero's endeavours in behalf of Lentulus.

ut . . . versamur] Mr. Jeans very cleverly gives the force of *ita . . . ut*, to the delicate use of which by Cicero I called attention in vol. i. *Introduction*. 'It must be remembered that we have to deal with a case which long before your departure was secretly embittered by the king himself, and the more intimate associates of P., and afterwards made worse by the open meddling of the ex-consuls, to the great disgust of everybody.' *Clam* refers to the corruption practised by Ptolemy, and makes for the conjecture *tibicini*, mentioned above; Marcellinus was probably one of those who was disgusted by the bribery to which the king had recourse. *Exagitatis* is 'made worse': cp. tanta vis hominis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur, Sall. Cat. 48, 5. *Invidiam* refers to the 'heart-burnings' of which the whole affair was prolific. *Exulc.* and *exag.* might be rendered *inflamed and aggravated*, the met. being from a sore.

in iis] Here, as often, Cicero uses the plural though referring to only one person, Pompeius. He thus mitigates the asperity of a dangerous criticism. See n. on Fam. v. 4, 2 (Ep. lxxxix.), and Draeger, Hist. Syn. i. p. 9.

XCVI. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER IN CILICIA.
(FAM. I. 2).

ROME, A. U. C. 698 ; B. C. 56 ; AET. CIC. 50.

Significat quid deinceps actum in senatu sit de causa regia Id. Ian., quae sententiae dictae, quo Pompeius, quo eius familiares animo sint, quae tribuni pl. frustra moliti sint.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Idibus Ianuariis in senatu nihil est confectum, propterea quod dies magna ex parte consumptus est altercatione Lentuli consulis et Caninii tribuni pl. Eo die nos quoque multa verba fecimus maximeque visi sumus senatum commemoratione tuae voluntatis erga illum ordinem permovere. Itaque postridie placuit ut breviter sententias diceremus: videbatur enim reconciliata nobis voluntas esse senatus, quod quum dicendo tum singulis appellandis rogandisque perfeceram. Itaque cum sententia prima Bibuli pronuntiata esset, ut tres legati regem reducerent, secunda Hortensii, ut tu sine exercitu reduceres, tertia Volcatii, ut Pompeius reduceret, postulatum est ut Bibuli sententia divideretur. Quatenus de religione dicebat cui quidem rei iam obsisti non poterat, Bibulo adsensum est: de tribus legatis frequentes ierunt in alia omnia. 2. Proxima erat Hortensii sententia, cum Lupus tribunus pl. quod ipse de Pompeio rettulisset, intendere coepit ante se oportere discessionem facere quam consules. Eius orationi vehementer ab omnibus reclamatum est: erat enim et iniqua et

1. *altercatione*] Lentulus Marcellinus, the consul, was for not employing an army (in the restoration of the king) or anyone who was invested with *imperium*; thus he excluded Pompeius: Caninius wished to give the office to Pompeius.

placuit] sc. *nobis tui studiosis*; 'we your friends determined not to speak at length.'

divideretur] 'should be put as two separate questions,' namely (1) whether the warning of the Sibylline books should be observed; (2) whether the restoration of the king should be entrusted to a commission of three. The proposal of Bibulus did not deal expressly with the question

de religione; that of Hortensius and that of Volcatius did. Therefore it was necessary to subdivide the resolution of Bibulus.

ierunt in alia omnia] 'voted with the Noes'; that is, were for *anything* but the measure proposed. The form was *qui hoc censetis in hanc partem, qui alia omnia in illam partem ite*, Plin. Ep. viii. 14, 19. Cp. Fest. p. 261. Lange R. A. ii. 414.

2. *proxima*] 'was brought on for discussion.'

intendere . . . consul] 'began to insist that he had the priority of the consuls in his right to call for an expression of the

nova. Consules neque concedebant neque valde repugnabant: diem consumi volebant: id quod est factum, Perspiciebant enim in Hortensii sententiam multis partibus plures ituros, quamquam aperte Volcatio adsentirentur. Multi rogabantur, atque id ipsum consulibus *non* invitis: nam ei Bibuli sententiam valere cupiebant. many

3. Hac controversia usque ad noctem ducta senatus dimissus est. Ego eo die casu apud Pompeium cenavi nactusque tempus hoc magis idoneum quam umquam antea, quod post tuum discessum is dies honestissimus nobis fuerat in senatu, ita sum cum illo locutus, ut mihi viderer animum hominis ab omni alia cogitatione ad tuam dignitatem tuendam traducere. Quem ego ipsum cum audio, prorsus eum libero omni suspitione cupiditatis: cum autem eius familiares omnium ordinum video, perspicio, id quod iam omnibus est apertum, totam rem istam iam pridem a certis hominibus non invito rege ipso consiliariisque eius esse corruptam.

4. Haec scripsi a. d. xvi. Kal. Febr. ante lucem. Eo die senatus erat futurus. Nos in senatu, quem ad modum spero, dignitatem nostram ut potest in tanta hominum perfidia et iniquitate retinebimus. Quod ad popularem rationem attinet, hoc videmur esse consecuti, ut ne quid agi cum populo aut salvis auspiciis aut salvis legibus aut denique sine vi posset. De his rebus pridie, quam haec scripsi, senatus auctoritas gravissima intercessit: cui cum Cato et Caninius intercessissent, tamen est perscripta. Eam ad te

sense of the house on the motion of Volcatius.' See note on Att. i. 19, 9 (Ep. xxv.) Lupus claimed that, on this occasion, he had a right to call for an expression of the feeling of the house on the motion of Volcatius before the consuls, inasmuch as that motion embodied the earliest proposal on the matter in debate. This was apparently regarded as 'an unprecedented' doctrine, and unjustifiable on principles of fairness.

non invitis] The insertion of *non* (the suggestion of Wes.) before *invitis* is quite necessary. The consuls preferred the motion of Bibulus, and they wished the day to be spent in debate without any decisive vote; they saw that a *discessio* would be in favour of Hortensius' proposal, though they affected to look on the motion of Volcatius as likely to win (this to please Pompeius); so they were glad to frustrate a *discessio* as far as possible; and welcomed the formal putting of the ques-

tion to each senator, as likely to lead to the consumption of the whole day in the debate. *Multis partibus* is the *abl. mensurae*, Draeger Hist. Syn. i. 562.

3. *cupiditatis*] 'self-seeking.'

4. *ut potest*] = *ut potest fieri*, so *poterat utrumque*, Fam. i. 7, 7; *si posset*, Tusc. i. 23; *poteris*, Att. iv. 10, 2 (Ep. cxx.). So *solet* = *fieri solet*.

pop. rationem] 'the plan of bringing the question before the people.' Cicero means that he and his friends had secured tribunes to veto any such measure, and other magistrates to declare *se servaturos de caelo* (Watson). By the latter arrangement, the step could not be taken *salvis ausp.*; and by the former, could not be taken *salvis legibus*.

intercessit . . . intercessissent] Observe the two different meanings of *intercedere* in such close proximity.

perscripta] For *perscribi* cp. Fam. viii. 8, an important locus for *SCta*.

missam esse arbitror. De ceteris rebus quidquid erit actum scribam ad te et ut quam rectissime agantur omni mea cura, opera, diligentia, gratia providebo.

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XCVII. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA
(FAM. I. 3).

ROME, A. U. C. 698 ; B. C. 56 ; AET. CIC. 50.

A. Trebonii equitis Rom. negotia, quae is habebat in Cilicia, P. Lentulo procos, commendat.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. A. Trebonio, qui in tua provincia magna negotia et ampla et expedita habet, multos annos utor valde familiariter. Is cum antea semper et suo splendore et nostra ceterorumque amicorum commendatione gratiosissimus in provincia fuit tum hoc tempore propter tuum in me amorem nostramque necessitudinem vehementer confidit his meis litteris se apud te gratiosum fore. 2. Quae ne spes eum fallat, vehementer rogo te, commendoque tibi eius omnia negotia, libertos, procuratores, familiam, in primisque ut, quae T. Ampius de eius re decrevit, ea comprobe omnibusque rebus eum ita tractes, ut intellegat meam commendationem non vulgarem fuisse.

1. *negotia et*] 'important, widely-extended, and well-conducted business.'
splendore] his distinguished position as an *eques*. Senators were not allowed

to engage in trade.

2. *T. Ampius*] was the predecessor of Lentulus in the government of Cilicia; he was of praetorian rank.

XCVIII. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA
(FAM. I. 4).

ROME, A. U. C. 698 ; B. C. 56 ; AET. CIC. 50.

Lentuli causam de Ptolemaeo reducendo calumniis impeditam queritur, sed, nisi vis interverterit, senatus populi que Romani studio posse sustentari iudicat.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. A. d. xvi. Kal. Febr. cum in senatu pulcherrime staremus, quod iam illam sententiam Bibuli de tribus legatis pridie eius diei fregeramus, unumque certamen esset relictum cum sententia Volcatii, res ab adversariis nostris extracta est variis calumniis. Causam enim frequenti senatu, in magna varietate magnaue invidia eorum, qui a te causam regiam alio transferebant, obtinebamus. Eo die acerbum habuimus Curionem, Bibulum multo iustiore, paene etiam amicum. Caninius et Cato negarunt se legem ullam

1. *staremus*] 'stood our ground,' a military expression, like *inclinata, laboratur* in Ep. xcv.

adversariis nostris] the tribunes and consuls especially.

variis cal.] 'all kinds of obstruction.'

in magna varietate] This is the reading of Ern. for *non magna* of M.; *in* is said to have been found in the codices used by Cratander, so it probably existed in the archetype. Reading *in*, we must take *varietas* to mean *fickleness*, and render 'we held our ground in a full house, and in the face of the fickleness and envy of those who sought to transfer from you (who are the proper officer as governor of Cilicia) to others this office of reinstating the king.' But *varietas* can hardly mean *fickleness*; the passages in L. and S. seem hardly to the point. Reading *non* we might render, 'we maintained our case in a full house in the face of considerable unanimity (of no very great difference of opinion) and very great hostility on the part of those,' &c.

acerbum habuimus Curionem] This must

mean 'we found Curio very bitter,' *i.e.* in his attacks on Pompeius, whom he regarded as the ally and aggrandiser of Caesar, to whom Curio was violently opposed; it was he who called Caesar *omnium mulierum virum* and *omnium virorum mulierem*, Suet. Jul. 52. This cannot mean 'we had in Curio a bitter opponent,' for Curio would probably have welcomed the appointment of Lentulus. Besides, the meaning which I ascribe to *habuimus* is more consonant with what follows, 'we found Bibulus more fair-minded': Bibulus, not being able to carry his commission of three, would have preferred to appoint Lentulus rather than Pompeius.

legem ullam] Caninius and Cato had resolved, as a last resource, to propose a bill for depriving Lentulus of his governorship. This bill Cato actually did propose afterwards, as we read in the next letter. But at this time they declared their intention of not taking this step before the month of August, by which time the new magistrates would be designated.

ante comitia esse laturos. Senatus haberi ante Kalendas Febr. per legem Pupiam, id quod scis, non potest, neque mense Febr. toto nisi perfectis aut reiectis legationibus. 2. Haec tamen opinio est populi Romani, a tuis invidis atque obtrectatoribus nomen inductum fictae religionis, non tam ut te impediret quam ut ne quis propter exercitus cupiditatem Alexandriam vellet ire. Dignitatis autem tuae nemo est quin existimet habitam esse rationem ab senatu. Nemo est enim qui nesciat, quo minus discessio fieret, per adversarios tuos esse factum: qui nunc populi nomine, re autem vera sceleratissimo latrocinio, si quae conabuntur agere, satis mihi provisum est, ut ne quid salvis auspiciis aut legibus aut etiam sine vi agere possent. 3. Ego neque de meo studio neque de non nullorum iniuria scribendum mihi esse arbitror. Quid enim aut me ostentem, qui, si vitam pro tua dignitate profundam, nullam partem videar meritorum tuorum adsecutus, aut de aliorum iniuriis querar, quod sine summo dolore facere non possum? Ego tibi a vi, hac praesertim imbecillitate magistratuum, praestare nihil possum: vi excepta possum confirmare te et senatus et populi Romani summo studio amplitudinem tuam retenturum.

Pupiam] which forbade the holding of the senate on *dies comitiales*.

nisi . . . legationibus] 'unless the hearing of embassies from foreign states is completely got through before the end of Feb., or deferred to a later period.' The Lex Gabinia, 687, provided that the foreign ambassadors should have audience of the senate every day from Feb. 1 to March 1.

2. *nomen . . . fictae rel.*] 'a trumped-up religious scruple, which is merely a blind.'

ne quis] This is a covert allusion to

Pompeius. The oracle was trumped-up by the enemies of Lentulus, but they were more anxious to use it as a fetter for Pompeius than for Lentulus.

latrocinio] 'villany': see Ep. xcvi., § 4.

3. *facere*] i.e. *queri*: cp. Thuc. ii. 49, τοῦτο ἔδρασαν ἐς τὰ φρέατα.

a vi, . . . praestare] 'I cannot answer for what the effect of a riot may be.' If the tribunes succeed by force in bringing the matter before the people, they may deprive you of your government.

XCIX. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA.
(FAM. I. 5a).

ROME, A. U. C. 698 ; B. C. 56 ; AET. CIC. 50.

Subita C. Catonis promulgatio. Veretur ne causa regia P. Lentulo erepta destituatur.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Tametsi mihi nihil fuit optatius quam ut primum abs te ipso, deinde a ceteris omnibus quam gratissimus erga te esse cognoscerer, tamen adficio summo dolore eius modi tempora post tuam profectionem consecuta esse, ut et meam et ceterorum erga te fidem et benevolentiam absens experirere. Te videre et sentire eandem fidem esse hominum in tua dignitate, quam ego in mea salute sum expertus, ex tuis litteris intellexi. 2. Nos cum maxime consilio, studio, labore, gratia de causa regia niteremur, subito exorta est nefaria Catonis promulgatio, quae nostra studia impediret et animos a minore cura ad summum timorem traduceret. Sed tamen in eius *modi* perturbatione rerum quamquam omnia sunt metuenda, nihil magis quam perfidiam timemus, et Catoni quidem, quoquo modo se res habet, profecto resistimus. 3. De Alexandrina re causaque regia tantum habeo polliceri, me tibi absenti tuisque praesentibus cumulate satis facturum. Sed vereor ne aut eripiatur causa regia nobis aut deseratur: quorum utrum minus velim non facile possum existimare. Sed, si res coget, est quiddam tertium, quod neque Selicio nec mihi displicebat, ut neque iacere rem pateremur nec nobis repugnantibus ad eum deferri, ad quem prope iam delata existimatur. A nobis agentur

1. *experirere*] 'that you should have occasion to make trial of.'

in tua dignitate] 'in a matter involving your public position,' i. e. the *causa regia*.

2. *Catonis promulgatio*] to recal Lentulus from Cilicia. This was of course a source of great alarm *summus timor* to the friends of Lentulus; beside it, the ques-

tion who should restore Ptolemy became quite a *minor cura*, a matter of trifling import. Render *nefaria* 'monstrous.'

3. *eripiatur*] 'be taken from us' and given to Pompeius.

deseratur] 'be let drop,' no one being entrusted with the restoration of the king.

ut neque . . . videamur] 'that we

omnia diligenter, ut neque, si quid obtineri poterit, non contendamus nec, si quid non obtinuerimus, repulsi esse videamur. 4. Tuae sapientiae magnitudinisque animi est omnem amplitudinem et dignitatem tuam in virtute atque in rebus gestis tuis atque in tua gravitate positam existimare: si quid ex iis rebus, quas tibi fortuna largita est, non nullorum hominum perfidia detraxerit, id maiori illis fraudi quam tibi futurum. A me nullum tempus praetermittitur de tuis rebus et agendi et cogitandi. Utor ad omnia Q. Selicio: neque enim prudentiorem quemquam ex tuis neque fide maiore esse iudico neque amantiorem tui.

C. TO QUINTUS, IN SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 2).

ROME, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50).

M. Cicero Q. fratri respondet de Lentuli et Sestii nominibus exigendis et Pomponianis inde dissolvendis, de Culleonis auctione, de Q. fratris aedificatione, de Clodii aedilitatis expectatione, de rege Alexandrino in regnum reducendo quod actum et decretum sit. Denique frater ut quam primum e Sardinia redeat rogat.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Non occupatione, quamquam eram sane impeditus, sed parvula lippitudine adductus sum, ut dictarem hanc epistolam et non, ut ad te soleo, ipse scriberem. Et primum me tibi excuso in eo ipso, in quo te accuso: me enim nemo adhuc rogavit, 'num quid in Sardiniam velim,' te puto saepe habere, qui, 'num quid Romam velis' quaerant. Quod ad me *de* Lentuli et Sestii nomine scripsisti,

should neither allow the question to drop, nor the appointment to be given to Pompeius (on whom it is now deemed to be virtually conferred) in the face of opposition on our part. We shall do our best for you, but in such a way as never to fail to make a struggle if any point can be maintained, yet not so as to seem dislodged from our position if we prove unsuccessful.' *iacere rem* expresses the same

thought as *deseratur* above; *rem* for *regem* is the conj. of Martyni-Laguna. See note on Q. Fr. ii. 3, 1 (Ep. cii.).

1. *num . . . velim*] 'have I any commands for Sardinia.'

nomine] Lentulus and Sestius owed money to Quintus, which he was anxious to collect, so that he might with it defray a debt of his to Atticus; hence *nominibus Pomponianis* below.

locutus sum cum Cincio. Quoquo modo res se habet, non est facilima, sed habet profecto quiddam Sardinia appositum ad recollectionem praeteritae memoriae. Nam, ut ille Gracchus augur, postea quam in istam provinciam venit, recordatus est quid sibi in campo Martio comitia consularia habenti contra auspicia accidisset, sic tu mihi videris in Sardinia de forma Numisiana et de nominibus Pomponianis in otio recogitasse. Ego adhuc emi nihil. Culleonis auctio facta est. Tusculano emptor nemo fuit. Si condicio valde bona fuerit, fortassis non omittam. 2. De aedificatione tua Cyrum urgere non cesso. Spero eum in officio fore. Sed omnia sunt tardiora propter furiosae aedilitatis expectationem. Nam comitia sine mora futura videntur: edicta sunt *in a. d. xi. Kal. Febr.* Te tamen sollicitum esse nolo. Omne genus a nobis cautionis adhibebitur. 3. De rege Alexandrino factum est senatus consultum, cum multitudine eum reduci periculosum rei publicae videri. Reliqua cum esset in senatu contentio Lentulusne an Pompeius reduceret, obtinere causam Lentulus videbatur. In ea re nos et officio erga Lentulum mirifice et voluntati Pompeii praeclare satis fecimus: sed per obtrectatores Lentuli calumnia extracta *res* est. Consecuti sunt dies comitiales, per quos senatus haberi non poterat. Quid futurum sit latrocinio tribunorum non divino, sed tamen suspicor per vim rogationem Caninium perlatum. In ea re Pompeius quid velit non dispicio. Familiares eius quid cupiant omnes vident. Creditores vero regis aperte pecunias suppeditant contra Lentulum. Sine dubio *res* a Lentulo remota videtur esse, cum magno meo dolore: quamquam multa fecit, qua re, si fas esset, iure ei suscensere possemus. 4. Tu,

sed habet . . . memoriae] ‘but surely Sardinia must have some property of refreshing one’s memory of the past.’ The story about the father of the Gracchi which follows is told by Cicero in *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 11. Cp. *veteris memoriae recordatio*, *De Or.* i. 4; *memorium recordari*, *Arch.* 1.

forma] the plan, design of a house or villa which Numisius, an architect, had drawn for Cicero: cp. *Fam.* ii. 8, 1; *Q. Fr.* ii. 5, 3.

Tusculano] This was the property of Culleo, and was for sale. Cicero had at one time advertised his own *Tusculanum* for sale, but afterwards resolved to keep it. Culleo’s property probably adjoined

Cicero’s own at Tusculum; so he is tempted, if he gets very favourable terms, not to let the chance slip of purchasing it.

2. *Cyrum*] the architect.
furiosae aed.] of Clodius.

3. *rogationem*] The bill of Caninius was that Pompeius, with two lictors, should restore Ptolemy.

multa fecit] Lentulus was one of those to whose supineness or jealousy Cicero ascribed the inadequacy of his indemnification.

si fas esset] because Lentulus had been active in bringing about the restoration of Cicero.

si ita expedit, velim quam primum bona et certa tempestate conscendas ad meque venias. Innumerabiles enim res sunt, in quibus te cotidie in omni genere desiderem. Tui nostrique valent. XIII. Kal. Febr.

CI. TO ATTICUS, RETURNING TO ROME (ATT. IV. 4 a).

ROME, A. U. C. 698 ; B. C. 56 ; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Attico significat sibi periucundum Cincii nuntium fuisse de Attici adventu in Italiam.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Periucundus mihi Cincius fuit ante diem tertium Kalend. Febr. ante lucem. Dixit enim mihi te esse in Italia seseque ad te pueros mittere, quos sine meis litteris ire nolui, non quo haberem quod tibi, praesertim iam prope praesenti, scriberem, sed ut hoc ipsum significarem, mihi tuum adventum suavissimum expectatissimumque esse. Qua re advola ad nos eo animo, ut nos ames, te amari scias. Cetera coram agemus. Haec prope-rantes scripsimus. Quo die venies, utique *fac* cum tuis apud me sis.

Qua re advola] 'so fly to meet me, and of the assurance that it is fully returned.'
full of your affectionate regard for me,

CII. TO QUINTUS, IN SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 3).

ROME, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. fratri exponit de iudicio T. Milonis a P. Clodio de vi accusati, de rebus in senatu actis, de P. Sestio bis accusato, de senatus consulto VI. Id. Febr. facto, de oratione pro Bestia a se dicta, de rebus domesticis.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM. *in Sardinia*

1. Scripsi ad te antea superiora: nunc cognosce postea quae sint acta. A Kal. Febr. legationes in Idus Febr. reiciebantur. Eo die res confecta non est. A. d. IIII. Non. Febr. Milo adfuit: ei Pompeius advocatus venit. Dixit Marcellus, a me rogatus. Honeste discessimus. Prodicta dies est in VII. Id. Febr. Interim *adprocurat* reiectis legationibus in Idus referebatur de provinciis quaestorum et de ornandis praetoribus. Sed res multis querellis de re publica interponendis nulla transacta est. C. Cato legem promulgavit de imperio Lentulo abrogando. Vestitum filius mutavit. 2. A. d. VII. Id. Febr. Milo adfuit. Dixit Pompeius siue voluit. Nam ut surrexit, operae Clodianae clamorem sustulerunt, idque ei perpetua oratione contigit, non modo ut acclamatione, sed ut convitio et maledictis impediretur. Qui ut peroravit—nam in eo sane fortis fuit, non est deterritus, dixit omnia atque interdum etiam silentio, cum auctoritate peregerat—sed ut peroravit, surrexit Clodius. Ei *had succeeded in making a considerable impression*

1. *superiora*] Up to Jan. 18, the date of his last letter to Quintus.

reiciebantur] 'were put off.'

Eo die] 'on that day, Feb. 13, nothing had been done to settle the question who should restore Ptolemy.' This question has been so prominent in the recent letters of Cicero, that it is now simply referred to as *res*. This is a strong confirmation of the conjecture of Martyni-Laguna, *rem* for *regem*, in Ep. xcix. § 3.

adfuit] 'surrendered to stand his trial.'

Honeste discessimus] 'we had the best of the fight,' 'we came off with the honours of war.'

ornandis] *Ornare* is applied to *provincias*, as meaning to supply the magis-

trates appointed for the provinces with the requisite supplies; Att. iii. 24, 1.

filius] son of Lentulus, the governor of Cilicia. He assumed mourning to bespeak sympathy for his father, according to the custom which prevailed in ancient Rome.

2. *perpetua oratione*] 'throughout his whole speech'; the abl. of *duration* is only used with a word of duration, esp. *totus, omnis*.

peregerat] The change of tense is strange. Cicero had perhaps intended to say 'he had barely concluded when Clodius rose,' but changed the sentence hastily. *Sed* has its common *resumptive* force: see on Att. i. 10, 1 (Ep. vi.).

tantus clamor a nostris—placuerat enim referre gratiam—ut neque mente nec lingua neque ore consisteret. Ea res acta est, cum *Hor.* vi. vix Pompeius perorasset, usque ad H. viii., cum omnia maledicta, versus denique obscoenissimi in Clodium et Clodiam dicerentur. Ille furens et exsanguis interrogabat suos in clamore ipso, 'Quis esset qui plebem fame necaret.' Respondebant operae: 'Pompeius.' 'Quis Alexandream ire cuperet.' Respondebant: 'Pompeius.' 'Quem ire vellent?' Respondebant: 'Crassum.' Is aderat tum, Miloni animo non amico. H. fere ix., quasi signo dato, Clodiani nostros consputare coeperunt. Exarsit dolor. Urguere illi, ut loco nos moverent. Factus est a nostris impetus, fuga operarum. Eiectus de rostris Clodius, ac nos quoque tum fugimus, ne quid in turba. Senatus vocatus in curiam: Pompeius domum. Neque ego tamen in senatum, ne aut de tantis rebus tacerem aut in Pompeio defendendo—nam is carpebatur a Bibulo, Curione, Favonio, Servilio filio—animos bonorum virorum offenderem. Res in posterum dilata est. Clodius in Quirinalia prodixit diem. 3. A. d. vi. Id. Febr. senatus ad Apollinis fuit, ut Pompeius adesset. Acta res est graviter a Pompeio. Eo die nihil perfectum est. A. d. v. Id. Febr. ad Apollinis senatus consultum factum est: EA, QUAE FACTA ESSENT AD A. D. VI. ID. FEBR., CONTRA REM PUBLICAM ESSE FACTA. Eo die Cato vehementer est in Pompeium invectus et eum oratione perpetua tamquam reum

referre gratiam] 'ironically,' 'to return the compliment'; *retulisse gratiam* is 'to return the compliment,' 'to give as good as one got': quod si esses usu atque aetate robustior, essem idem qui soleo cum sum lacessitus; nunc tecum sic agam, tulisse ut potius iniuriam quam *rettulisse gratiam* videar: pro Sull. 47.

consisteret] 'he lost all control over his faculties, his voice, and his countenance.'

Crassum] This is the first hint that Crassus desired the office of restoring Ptolemy. Perhaps it was merely an empty compliment to Crassus on the part of the bravoës of Clodius, who observed that Crassus was opposed to Milo, as we read in the next sentence: *Miloni animo non amico*. He was on the spot, *is aderat tum*, and that suggested the shout.

de rostris] The scene of the riot was the forum. Clodius prosecuted Milo before the *Comitia tributa*.

ne quid in turba] Sc. *pateremur*. For instances of violent ellipse, see vol. i.

Introduction. The same figure prevails in the sequel of this passage.

curiam] Sc. *Hostiliam*.

Quirinalia] Feb. 17.

3. *ad Apollinis*] It is conjectured with probability by Man. that the temple of Apollo was near the house of Pompeius, who could thus more conveniently attend the senate, as he could more easily elude the violence of the Clodian roughs. We read in this letter that Pompeius thought his life was in danger.

ad A. D. vi.] 'up to the 8th.' I have inserted *ad*. Mr. Watson justly observes, 'but we should expect *a. d. vii. Id.* here, having no notice of any disturbances having taken place on *a. d. vi. Id.*' Man. reads *a. d. viii.*, 'the 6th'; others *a. d. vii.*, 'the 7th.' But it is a slighter change to insert *ad*, which would have easily fallen out before *a. d.* (which constantly is written *ad* in M.). This quite satisfies the sense, and introduces a normal use of *ad*. M *a. d.* often omits *ad* before.

accusavit. De me multa me invito cum mea summa laude dixit. Cum illius in me perfidiam increparet, auditus est magno silentio malevolorum. Respondit ei fidenter Pompeius Crassumque descripsit, dixitque aperte se munitiorem ad custodiendam vitam suam fore, quam Africanus fuisset, quem C. Carbo interemisset. 4. Itaque magnae mihi res iam moveri videbantur. Nam Pompeius haec intellegit nobiscumque communicat, insidias vitae suae fieri, C. Catonem a Crasso sustentari, Clodio pecuniam suppeditari, utrumque et ab eo et a Curione, Bibulo ceterisque suis obtrectatoribus confirmari, vehementer esse providendum ne opprimatur a contionario illo, populo a se prope alienato, nobilitate inimica, non aequo senatu, iuventute improba. Itaque se comparat, homines ex agris arcessit. Operas autem suas Clodius confirmat. Manus ad Quirinalia paratur: in ea multo sumus superiores ipsius copii. Et magna manus ex Piceno et Gallia exspectatur, ut etiam Catonis rogationibus de Milone et Lentulo resistamus. 5. A. d. III. Id. Febr. Sestius ab indice Cn. Nerio Pupinia de ambitu est postulatus et eodem die a quodam M. Tullio de vi. Is erat aeger. Domum, ut debuimus, ad eum statim venimus eique nos totos tradidimus,

malevolorum] that is, the enemies of Cicero, who wished to embroil him with Pompeius.

descripsit] 'alluded to' Crassus without mentioning his name. He hinted that Crassus had a plot against his life, and that he would take better care of himself than Scipio Africanus the younger, 'who was murdered,' said Pompeius, 'by Papirius Carbo.' Cicero does not state that Carbo was the murderer of Scipio, but only that Pompeius stated that he was. This is shown by the mood of *interemisset*. If Cicero had wished to express his own opinion he would have written *interemit*: cp. apud Hypanim fluvium qui ab Europae parte in Pontum *influit* (this is the obs. of the speaker) Aristoteles ait bestiolas quasdam nasci quae unum diem *vivant* (obs. of Ar. reported by the speaker), Tusc. i. 94. It is important to make this observation, because Mr. Jeans writes, 'it is purely a hypothesis, which Cicero states as a fact, that Gaius Papirius Carbo was guilty' of the murder of Scipio. Charges of being guilty of the murder of Scipio were brought against various persons merely as party spirit made such charges convenient. Ihne *Röm. Ges.* v.

456 foll., comes to the conclusion that Scipio died a natural death. Pompeius chose to ascribe the crime to C. Papirius Carbo, to whom he compares Cato, as the modern plotter of assassination. Mommsen (iii. 104) thinks that Scipio was murdered, and that 'the instigator of the deed must have belonged to the Gracchan party.'

4. *contionario illo*] 'that demagogue,' P. Clodius: see Adn. Crit.

in ea] 'for it,' i. e. the Quirinalia (the struggle which is to come off on Feb. 17). *Ea* has been universally changed to *eo*, which is supposed to refer to the trial of Milo; but *ea*, the reading of M., gives a far better sense. For the use of *in* cp. *invitavit in posterum diem*, Cic. Off. iii. 58; *defectiones solis praedicuntur in multos annos*, Div. ii. 17; *in tempus confecta, in diem vivere*, &c. So *venerat in funus* is, 'she came to take charge of the funeral, for the purposes of the funeral': Att. xv. 1 b, 1. We might also read *in eam*: sc. *manum*.

ipsius] = *Pompeii*.

5. *Pupinia*] of the Pupinian tribe. *nos totos*] 'placed myself entirely at his service' (Jeans).

idque fecimus praeter hominum opinionem, qui nos ei iure suscensere putabant, ut humanissimi gratissimique et ipsi et omnibus videremur, itaque faciemus. Sed idem Nerius index edidit ad adlegatos Cn. Lentulum Vatiā et C. Cornelium : † ista ei. Eodem die senatus consultum factum est, UT SODALITATES DECURIATIQUE DISCEDERENT, LEXQUE DE IIS FERRETUR, UT, QUI NON DISCESSISSENT, EA POENA, QUAE EST DE VI, TENERENTUR. 6. A. d. III. Id. Febr. dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud praetorem Cn. Domitium in foro medio maximo conventu, incidique in eum locum in dicendo, cum Sestius multis in templo Castoris vulneribus acceptis subsidio Bestiae servatus esset. Hic προφκονομησάμην quiddam εὐκαίρως de his, quae in Sestium appa-

^{CV}
iure suscensere] See Ep. civ. § 1; beyond his general moroseness of character, Sestius does not seem to have done anything to earn the dislike of Cicero. We read, however, in Cicero's letters from exile, Att. iii. 23, 4, that Cicero much disliked the bill which Sestius drew up for his restoration.

ut . . . videremur] 'so that I am thought.'

itaque] here = 'and so,' not 'therefore,' 'and I mean to be as good as my word' (Jeans).

Sed idem . . . ista ei] Most edd. read adligatos, and render 'in addition to the others implicated, reported Lentulus,' &c. But adlegatos is the reading of the mss.; and such an use of adligatos is very doubtful, especially in a plain letter which would not deal in metaphors. Still more doubtful is ad = 'in addition to' (hence Wes. would read edidit adligatos, 'reported as implicated'). Moreover, after acquiescing in these very questionable usages, we are forced to obelise the end of the sentence. I would prefer to obelise the whole sentence from edidit. The part usually obelised admits of a better correction than the foregoing words. For ista ei Wes. would read et L. Bestiam, whom Cicero defended, as we learn in the next section. Bestia's trial de ambitu would come on first, as Sestius was sick. Or. suggests for ista ei the words itaque rei facti sunt, than which nothing could be more bold or improbable. But I believe the whole passage to be quite corrupt. Edere is a technical term, used especially in causae sodaliciorum, in which the plaintiff had the right edere tribus,

'to name the tribes'; that is, to propose to the defendant four tribes, of which the defendant could reject only one, leaving the remaining three to the plaintiff out of which to choose the iudices. Probably adlegatos, the reading of the mss., is quite right, and under the proper names and the confessedly corrupt words ista ei lie hid the names of the four tribes which Nerius 'named to the deputies appointed to receive information.' See pro Planc. 36, pro Mur. 47. For sed idem I would read et idem; the same correction has been universally made above, § 4, where for et magna manus M. gives sed. The words et and sed are very often confused, especially when they follow an s. The reason of this is, that in the archetype which he was copying the librarius found sed written set. Thus the mere dittography of the preceding s turns et into set (sed). The term edere tribus is especially used in causae sodaliciorum. Now this trial against Sestius came under this head, as Sestius was charged with practising bribery as a member of a sodaliciū or 'electioneering club.' Gron. on Liv. xxxvi. 11 says, adlegati were commissioners appointed to receive evidence.

sodalitates decuriatique] 'political clubs and caucuses.' The SCtum was a declaratory act that all such assemblages should be subject to the penalties enacted under the Leges de vi. These would include electioneering clubs, which were, probably, especially aimed at by the SCtum.

6. προφκονομησάμην] 'introduced beforehand,' i.e. introduced an eulogy on Sestius as a sort of 'vaunt-courier' to my forthcoming speech in his defence.

rabantur crimina, et eum ornavi veris laudibus, magno adsensu omnium. Res homini fuit vehementer grata. Quae tibi eo scribo, quod me de retinenda Sestii gratia litteris saepe monuisti. 7. Prædie Id. Febr. haec scripsi ante lucem : eo die apud Pomponium in eius nuptiis eram cenaturus. (Cetera sunt) in rebus nostris cuius modi tu mihi fere diffidenti prædicabas, plena dignitatis et gratiae : quae quidem tua, mi frater, patientia, virtute, pietate, suavitate etiam tibi mihiq[ue] sunt restituta. Domus tibi ad lacum Pisonis Luciniani conducta est. Sed, ut spero, paucis mensibus, post Kalendas Quinct. in tuam commigrabis. Tuam in Carinis mundi habitatores Lamiae conduxerunt. A te post illam Olbientem epistolam nullas litteras accepi. Quid agas et ut te oblectes scire cupio maximeque te ipsum videre quam primum. Cura, mi frater, ut valeas, et quamquam est hiemps, tamen Sardiniam istam esse cogites. xv. Kalend. Mart.

CIII. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA.
(FAM. I. 56.)

ROME, A. U. C. 698 ; B. C. 56 ; AET. CIC. 50.

Causa regia a Cn. Pompeio iam paene derelicta futurum sibi videri scribit, ut rex ad P. Lentulum restituendi sui causa se conferat.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Hic quae agantur quaeque acta sint, ea te et litteris multorum et nuntiis cognosse arbitror : quae autem posita sunt in coniectura quaeque videntur fore, ea puto tibi a me scribi oportere. Postea quam Pompeius et apud populum a. d. VIII. Idus Febr., cum pro Milone diceret, clamore convitioque iactatus est in

7. nuptiis] the marriage of Atticus to Pilia.

etiam] because *suavitas* was not to be expected from Quintus as much as the other qualities mentioned.

lacum] 'reservoir, basin': see Adn. Crit.

post Kal. Quinct.] The 1st July was the usual period for the expiry of the terms of occupancy of rented houses in Rome: Suet. Tib. 35 (Man.)

mundi] 'respectable tenants.'

Olbientem] from Olbia, the chief port of Sardinia.

quamquam est hiemps] that is, the least unhealthy season.

1. agantur] *Agantur* and *acta sint* are in subj. as general and indefinite, with which contrast *posita sunt* and *videntur fore*, where Cicero speaks of the definite objects of his own observation.

senatuque a Catone aspere et acerbe nimium magno silentio est accusatus, visus est mihi vehementer esse perturbatus. Itaque Alexandrina causa, quae nobis adhuc integra est—nihil enim tibi detraxit senatus nisi id, quod per eandem religionem dari alteri non potest—videtur ab illo plane esse deposita. 2. Nunc id speramus idque molimur, ut rex, cum intellegat sese, quod cogitabat, ut a Pompeio reducatur, adsequi non posse et, nisi per te sit restitutus, desertum se atque abiectum fore, proficiscatur ad te: quod sine ulla dubitatione, si Pompeius paullum modo ostenderit sibi placere, faciet. Sed nosti hominis tarditatem et taciturnitatem. Nos tamen nihil quod ad eam rem pertineat praetermittimus. Ceteris iniuriis, quae propositae sunt a Catone, facile, ut spero, resistemus. Amicum ex consularibus neminem tibi esse video praeter Hortensium et Lucillum: ceteri sunt partim obscurius iniqui, partim non dissimulanter irati. Tu fac animo forti magnoque sis speresque fore ut fracto impetu levissimi hominis tuam pristinam dignitatem et gloriam consequare.

CIV. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA
(FAM. I. 6).

ROME, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Consolatur P. Lentulum de tardo speratae rei progressu et exigua spe relicta ad animi magnitudinem adhortatur.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Quae gerantur accipies ex Pollione, qui omnibus negotiis non interfuit solum, sed praefuit. Me in summo dolore, quem in tuis rebus capio, maxime scilicet consolatur spes, quod valde suspicor fore ut infringatur hominum improbitas et consiliis tuorum amicorum et ipsa die, quae debilitat cogitationes et inimicorum et proditorum [tuorum]. 2. Facile secundo loco me consolatur recordatio meorum

2. *levissimi hominis*] Cato, who sought to deprive Lentulus of his government.

1. *Pollione*] C. Asinius Pollio, from whom we have three letters to Cicero, Fam. x. 31–33, and to whom is addressed the 1st Ode of Horace's Second Book. [In

verse 13 of that Ode, *Pollio* has the final ð, the only example in Horace's Odes.]

non praefuit] 'took not only a part, but a leading part.'

ipsa die] 'simple lapse of time'; hence *dies* is fem. Mayor Juv. x. 265. *Tuorum* is plainly a dittography.

temporum, quorum imaginem video in rebus tuis. Nam etsi minore in re violatur tua dignitas quam mea adflicta est, tamen est tanta similitudo, ut sperem te mihi ignoscere, si ea non timuerim, quae ne tu quidem umquam timenda duxisti. Sed praesta te eum, qui mihi a teneris, ut Graeci dicunt, unguiculis es cognitus. Illustrabit, mihi crede, tuam amplitudinem hominum iniuria. A me omnia summa in te studia officiaque exspecta: non fallam opinionem tuam.

CV. TO QUINTUS, IN SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 4).

ROME, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit de P. Sestio absoluto et de P. Vatinius in iudicio Sestiano vexato, de filii studiis, de suae et fraternae domus aedificatione, de Tullia Crassipedi despondenda, de rebus suis. Tum exponit de rebus Romanis et Lentuli Marcellini eos. in coërendis Clodianorum insanis conatibus studium promptum significat.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Sestius noster absolutus est a. d. v. Id. Mart. et, quod vehementer interfuit rei publicae, nullam videri in eius modi causa dissensionem esse, omnibus sententiis absolutus est. Illud quod tibi curae saepe esse intellexeram, ne cui iniquo relinqueremus vituperandi locum, qui nos ingratos esse diceret, nisi illius perversitatem quibusdam in rebus quam humanissime ferremus, scito hoc nos in eo iudicio consecutos esse, ut omnium gratissimi iudicaremur. Nam defendendo moroso homini cumulatissime satis fecimus, et, id quod ille maxime cupiebat, Vatinius, a quo palam

2. a teneris . . . unguiculis] ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων. Cp. Hor. Carm. iii. 6, 24, *de tenero meditatur ungui*. On that passage Orelli agrees with Unger, who maintains the meaning of the phrase to be *from my very heart of hearts*, not *from the earliest years*. Pollux tells us that the tradition was, that the nerves had their *termini* under the nails. For other passages in favour of this interpretation, see Orelli's note on Hor. Carm. iii 6, 24.

Illud quod . . . iudicaremur] 'As to one thing that I know always distressed you—the fear lest I should give some enemy the chance of upbraiding me as ungrateful for not putting up with Sestius' unreasonableness in some matters as good humouredly as possible—let me tell you I have gained by this trial credit for the highest gratitude.' Sestius seems to have been a cross-grained person, but Cicero owed him gratitude for his exertions in his behalf when in exile. For *humanitas*, 'conventionality,' as opp. to *perversitas*, 'outré conduct,' cp. Off. i. 145.

1. quod . . . interfuit] sc. nullam . . . esse.

oppugnabatur, arbitrato nostro concidimus [dis hominibusque plaudentibus. Quin etiam Paullus noster cum testis productus esset in Sestium, confirmavit se nomen Vatini delaturum, si Macer Licinius cunctaretur, et Macer ab Sestii subselliis surrexit ac se illi non defuturum adfirmavit. Quid quaeris? Homo petulans et audax, Vatinius, valde perturbatus debilitatusque discessit. 2. Q. filius tuus, puer optimus, eruditur egregie. Hoc nunc magis animum adverto, quod Tyrannio docet apud me. Domus utriusque nostrum aedificatur strenue. Redemptori tuo dimidium pecuniae curavi. Spero nos ante hiemem contubernales fore. De nostra Tullia, tui mehercule amantissima, spero cum Crassipede nos confecisse. Dies erant duo, qui post Latinas habentur religiosi. Ceteroquin confectum Latiar erat [Ep. VI. § 3-7]. 3. Ἀμφιλαφίαν autem illam, quam tu soles dicere, bono modo desidero, sic prorsus, ut advenientem excipiam libenter, latentem

arbitrato nostro concidimus] 'I cut him up just as I pleased': see the *interrogatio* in *Vatinium*; cp. § 6.

ab Sestii subselliis] 'the benches on which sat the supporters of Sestius.'

illi] *Paullo*; sc. *non defuturum adfirmavit*, i. e. 'he said he would do as P. suggested.' *desse alicui* could not mean 'to fail to prosecute one.'

subselliis] See Fam. xiii. 10, 2, where *utrisque subselliis* = 'counsel for defence and prosecution.'

Homo petulans et audax] 'the insolent young bully.'

2. *contubernales*] 'under the same roof.' The houses of the two brothers adjoined each other.

De nostra Tullia] 'I think I have concluded the betrothal of Tullia to Crassipes.'

Dies . . . erat] These were two days after the *feriae Latinae*, which were kept as holidays, though the *Latiar* was itself over. Cicero mentions this to show why he could not celebrate the *sponsalia* before he wrote. *Ceteroquin* is common in the letters of Cicero, 'for the rest,' i. e. but for these two days, the festival is over.

Theodor Mommsen has rearranged the letters of the Second book to Quintus in a manner which does great credit to his sagacity and taste. He perceived that the topics of the letters were hopelessly muddled together in M., and formed the opinion that in the archetype from which M was copied ten leaves were displaced. By transposing pp. 1 and 2 with 3 and 4, and

again 7 and 8 with 9 and 10, the order of the topics becomes natural and connected. His arrangement has been followed by all the subsequent edd.—Klotz, Baiter, and Wesenberg. The same scholar has done a like service in the arrangement of the latter letters, sixteen to end, of the 4th book to Atticus, where, however, he has not been followed by modern edd., save Boot. I have not hesitated there too to adopt the arrangement of the great scholar and critic, the more readily because the disposition usually followed (e.g. G. Orelli) rests on no better authority than that of Bosius. References within square brackets in the text indicate the pre-Mommsenian order throughout.

3. Ἀμφιλαφίαν] One is tempted to render *embarras de richesse*, but the meaning is rather *affluence*, ἀμφιλαφής περιουσία, as Man. paraphrases the expression. Quintus had probably regretted that they had not ampler means at their disposal to carry out their building schemes. Cicero says in reply: 'I too feel the want of that *affluence* which you speak about, but my feeling about Dame Fortune is tempered; I would gladly stand firm for her if she runs into my arms, but if she hides from me I will not seek to start her from her covert.' Cicero strangely uses two metaphors distinctly taken from hunting in this passage: *excipere* is a well-known *verbum venatorium* like δέχεσθαι (see Or. on Hor. Carm. iii. 12, 10). It means properly, 'to stand the charge'

non excitem. Etiam nunc tribus locis aedifico, reliqua reconcinno, vivo paullo liberalius quam solebam: opus erat. Si te haberem, paullisper fabris locum darem. Sed et haec, ut spero, brevi inter nos communicabimus. 4. Res autem Romanae sese sic habent: consul est egregius Lentulus, non impediēte collega: sic, inquam, bonus, ut meliorem non viderim. Dies comitiales exemit omnes: nam etiam Latinae instaurantur: nec tamen deerant supplicationes. 5. Sic legibus perniciosissimis obsistitur, maxime Catonis, cui tamen egregie imposuit Milo noster. Nam ille vindex gladiatorum et bestiariorum emerat de Cosconio et Pomponio bestiarios, nec sine iis armatis unquam in publico fuerat. Hos alere non poterat, itaque vix tenebat. Sensit Milo. Dedit cuidam non familiari negotium, qui sine suspitione emeret eam familiam a Catone. Quae simul atque abducta est, Racilius, qui unus est hoc tempore tribunus pl., rem patefecit eosque homines sibi emptos esse dixit—sic enim pla-

of an animal at bay: *an tu putas venatorem irasci feris? atqui et fugientes persequitur et venientes exepit*, Sen. de ira i. 11, 2; *id.* de prov. 2, 8. Again, *excitare* is to raise a hiding animal from its lair, 'to flush' some animal of the chase, *exc. feras* Cic. Off. iii. 68; *cervum nemorosis excitatum latibulis*, Phaedr. ii. 8, 1. Why did Cicero use so apparently unsuitable a metaphor? Could he have supposed that ἀμφιλαφία was somehow connected with ἔλαφος. For *bono modo*, 'with moderation,' cp. Cic. Ac. ii. 137. *Maiorem in modum* is similarly used by Cicero.

Etiam nunc] 'even now (so far am I from laying by a fortune that) I am building on three different sites, and doing repairs besides.'

Si . . . darem] 'If I had you with me I would let in the carpenters for a while.' Cicero did not know in the absence of his brother what directions to give to the carpenters, or how much his brother was prepared to spend.

4. *Exemit*] *Eximere diem* is, 'to deprive one of the time which one might claim as a right,' like ἀνελείν τοὺς χρόνους in Demosth. In Gaius, Inst. 4, 46, the word means 'to prevent a man from appearing in court,' or 'to rescue' an enforced witness. Lentulus Marcellinus, with the connivance of his colleague Marcius Philippus, prevented Cato from bringing in his bills about Lentulus Spinther and Milo by the usual appeals to the State religion. Not only, we may presume, did he

'observe the heavens,' but he 'celebrated anew' (*instaurabat*) the Latin festival. The great Latin festival came under the heading of *feriae conceptivae*, or festivals which did not fall on fixed days, but were celebrated annually on days fixed by the magistrates. As no elections could be held on a feast day, the consuls, if they wished to postpone an election, could announce the *Latinae* for the day appointed for the *comitia*. Moreover, the *Latinae* could always be repeated, by alleging an omission or informality (however trifling, cp. Liv. xxxii. 1, 9) in the past celebration. This was the *ruse* by which the consuls now availed themselves of the State religion for obstructive purposes. Cicero seems to say this was a particularly audacious case. There were impending certain *supplicationes* or 'days set apart for public thanksgiving or humiliation.' On such days the *comitia* could not be held. The consuls might have announced a *supplicatio* for the days of the election. This would not have been so unmistakable a *ruse* as the fresh celebration of the *feriae Latinae*.

5. *imposuit*] 'played a trick on.' The trick was this:—Cato had a gang of gladiators and beast-fighters whom he had bought from Cosconius and Atticus, to protect him in the streets. He could not support these ruffians, and found it very hard to keep them from leaving him. Milo, perceiving this, arranged with an acquaintance (not an intimate friend of

cuerat—et tabulam proscripsit, SE FAMILIAM CATONIANAM VENDITURUM. [In] eam tabulam magni risus consequebantur. Hunc igitur Catonem Lentulus a legibus removet et eos, qui de Caesare monstra promulgarunt, quibus intercederet nemo. Nam quod de Pompeio Caninius agit, sane quam refrixit. Neque enim res probatur et Pompeius noster in amicitia P. Lentuli vituperatur et hercule non est idem. Nam apud perditissimam illam atque infimam faecem populi propter Milonem suboffendit, et boni multa ab eo desiderant, multa reprehendunt. Marcellinus autem hoc uno mihi quidem non satis facit, quod eum nimis aspere tractat: quamquam id senatu non invito facit: quo ego me lubentius a curia et ab omni parte rei publicae subtraho. 6. In iudiciis ii sumus, qui fuimus: domus celebratur ita, ut cum maxime. Unum accidit imprudentia Milonis incommode, de Sex. Clodio, quem neque hoc tempore neque ab imbecillis accusatoribus mihi placuit accusari. Ei tres sententiae teterrimo in consilio defuerunt. Itaque hominem populus revocat et retrahatur necesse est. Non enim ferunt homines, et quia, cum apud suos diceret, paene damnatus est, vident damnatum. Ea ipsa in re Pompeii offensio nobis obstitit. Senatorum enim urna copiose absolvit, equitum adaequa-

his own, for that would have excited suspicion) to buy the gang from Cato. Racilius, who is styled 'the only one of our tribunes worth the name,' claimed to be the purchaser (acting in concert with Milo), and advertised the gang for sale again as 'the Catonian gang,' thus bringing Cato into public ridicule and contempt.

Cato is ironically called *vindex glad. et best.*, because he had sued Milo for keeping such a body-guard.

removit] 'prevented him from carrying.'

monstra] 'monstrous proposals': cp. *mera monstra narrabat*, Att. iv. 7, 1.

quibus intercederet nemo] 'with no tribune there to interpose his *veto* to them' (*monstra*). The reason why Lentulus obstructed Cato and the others was because there was no tribune there to intervene; hence the subj. *intercederet*.

Nam] depends on an ellipse ['I refer especially to Cato and the supporters of extravagant proposals in favour of Caesar], for the proposal of Caninius about Pompeius is looked on very coldly.'

quod . . . Caninius agit] the proposal that Pompeius, with two lieutenants, should restore Ptolemy.

in] 'on the score of.' Lentulus had proposed the conferring of the commissionership of supplies on Pompeius, who was now striving to deprive him of the office of restoring Ptolemy, which was his due.

non est idem] 'he is not in his old position': cp. *ii sumus qui fuimus* below, § 6.

suboffendit] 'gives some offence,' is ἀπαξ εἰρημένον.

6. *tres . . . defuerunt*] only three votes were wanting for his condemnation, though the panel was most corrupt; they are called *iudices suos* just after. *Ei* refers to Milo, who would have carried his prosecution had not those votes failed to support him.

revocat] 'demands a new prosecution.' *Pompeii off.*] 'the dislike with which P. is regarded.'

Senatorum . . . eond.] The senate, knights, and *tribuni aerarii*, formed the panel, according to the law of Aur. Cotta. 684. He was acquitted on the votes of the senate, the knights being divided, and the *tribuni aerarii* giving their votes against him. *Copiose* means that the ma-

vit, tribuni aerarii condemnarunt. Sed hoc incommodum consolantur cotidianae damnationes inimicorum, in quibus me perlubente Servius adlisis est, ceteri conciduntur. C. Cato contionatus est, comitia haberi non siturum, si sibi ad populum dies agendi essent exempti. Appius a Caesare nondum redierat. 7. Tuas mirifice litteras exspecto, atqui adhuc clausum mare fuisse scio, sed quosdam venisse tamen Olbia dicebant qui te unice laudarent plurimique in provincia fieri dicerent. Eosdem aiebant nuntiare te prima navigatione transmissurum. Id cupio, et, quamquam te ipsum scilicet maxime, tamen etiam litteras tuas ante exspecto. Mi frater, vale.

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CVI. TO QUINTUS, IN SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 5).

ROME, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. fratri significat de pecunia Pompeio in rem frumentariam decreta, de agro Campano quid in senatu actum sit, tum de M. Furio Flacco de collegio eiecto, de filiae et Crassipedis sponsalibus, de Q. puero viso, de aedificatione Q. fratris, de cena apud Crassipidem, de Cn. Pompeio viso, de itinere suo, de exspectatione Q. fratris.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Dederam ad te litteras antea, quibus erat scriptum Tulliam nostram Crassipedi pridie Non. April. esse desponsatam, ceteraque de re publica privataque perscripseram. Postea sunt haec acta. Non. Apr. senatus consulto Pompeio pecunia decreta in rem frumentariam ad HS cccc. Sed eodem die vehementer actum de

majority in his favour amongst the senators and knights was greater than the majority against him in the *tribuni aerarii*.

adlisis] 'shipwrecked.' The metaphor is certainly from the wreck of a ship: we have *adlidi ad scopulos*, Caes. B. C. iii. 27; and *vir fuerit qui . . . virtutem non adliserit*, Sen. Tranq. 5, 4. Whether Servius, of whom we know nothing, was condemned, or barely escaped with much loss of character, the word *adlisis* hardly tells us. The old explanation was *via*

damnationem effugit.

conciduntur] see above, § 1.

Appius] Clodius, the brother of P. Clodius.

7. *tamen*] in spite of the danger of a sea voyage. This makes certain the clever conj. of Man., *Olbia* for *ostia* of M.

1. *HS cccc.*] *i. e.* sestertium quadringentis = 40,000,000 sesterces = about £340,000; taking 100 sesterces as equal to about 17 shillings of our money.

agro Campano clamore senatus prope contionali. Acriorem causam inopia pecuniae faciebat et annonae caritas. 2. Non praetermittam ne illud quidem: M. Furium Flaccum, equitem Romanum, hominem nequam, Capitolini et Mercuriales de collegio eiecerunt, praesentem, ad pedes unius cuiusque iacentem. Exiturus [Ep. VI. § 1-3] a. d. viii. Id. Apr. sponsalia Crassipedi praeibui. Huic convivio puer optimus, Quintus tuus meusque, quod perleviter commotus fuerat, defuit. A. d. vii. Id. April. veni ad Quintum eumque vidi plane integrum, multumque is mecum sermonem habuit et perhumanum de discordiis mulierum nostrarum. Quid quaeris? Nihil festivius. Pomponia autem etiam de te quæstæ est, sed hæc coram agemus. 3. A puero ut discessi, in aream tuam veni: res agebatur multis structoribus. Longilium redemptorem cohortatus sum. Fidem mihi faciebat se velle nobis placere. Domus erit egregia: magis enim cerni iam poterat quam quantum ex forma iudicabamus: itemque nostra celeriter aedificabatur. Eo die cenavi apud Crassipedem. Cenatus in hortos ad Pompeium lectica latus sum. Luci eum convenire non potueram, quod abfuerat. Videre autem volebam, quod eram postridie Roma exiturus et quod ille in Sardiniam iter habebat. Hominem conveni et ab eo petivi, ut quam primum te nobis redderet. Statim, dixit. Erat autem iturus, ut aiebat, a. d. iiii. Id. Apr., ut aut Labrone

contionali] 'as uproarious as if it had been a public meeting.'

de agro Camp.] Caesar had brought forward a bill that the Campanian land in the hands of private persons should be bought up at the public-expense, and divided amongst the people. A *SCtum* was made, on the motion of Cicero (as we learn from *Fam.* i. 9, 8), that the question of the Campanian land should be discussed in a full senate on May 15.

Acriorem . . . caritas] 'the scarcity of money and the high price of provisions embittered the debate.'

2. *Capitolini*] after the Gallic invasion, *senatus consultum facit . . . ludi Capitolini fierent . . . collegium que ad eam rem M. Furius Dictator constitueret ex iis qui in Capitolio atque arce habitarent*, *Liv.* v. 50, 3. The *Capitolini* were therefore a college of persons who had charge of the Capitoline games.

Mercuriales] were a corporation of merchants; *certamen consulibus inciderat*

uter dedicaret Mercurii aedem; senatus a se rem ad populum rejecit; utri eorum dedicatio jussu populi data esset, eum . . . mercatorum collegium instituere, *Liv.* ii. 27, 5. Their feast was on May 15.

Exiturus] In the old edd. this word immediately follows the words *confectum Latiar erat*. The acuteness of Mommsen has restored the right order. Cicero was on the eve of leaving Rome when he celebrated the betrothal of Crassipes to his daughter.

perleviter commotus] 'slightly indisposed': cp. *commotiuneulis* of a *febriecula* from which Attica was suffering, *Att.* xii. 11, *fin.*; cum leviter commotus esses, *Att.* xiv. 5, 1.

3. *forma*] See on Q. Fr. ii. 2, 1.

Labrone] This place is not elsewhere mentioned. Sch. reads *Salebrone* on the conj. of Wesseling. R. Klotz identifies *Labro* with the 'portus Herculis Labronis,' Liburnum, now *Livorno*, on the coast of Etruria.

aut Pisis conscenderet. Tu, mi frater, simul ut ille venerit, primam navigationem, dum modo idonea tempestas sit, ne omiseris. [Ep. VII.]. 4. A. d. vi. Id. April. ante lucem hanc epistolam conscripsi, eramque in itinere, ut eo die apud T. Titium in Anagnino manerem. Postridie autem in Laterio cogitabam, inde, cum in Arpinati quinque dies fuisset, ire in Pompeianum, rediens aspicere Cumanum, ut, quoniam in Non. Maias Miloni dies predicta est, pridie Non. Romae essem teque, mi carissime et suavissime frater, ad eam diem, ut sperabam, viderem. Aedificationem Arcani ad tuum adventum sustentari placebat. Fac, mi frater, ut valeas quam primumque venias.

CVII. TO ATTICUS, IN ITALY, ON HIS JOURNEY TO ROME.
(ATT. IV. 46.)

ANTIUM, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

De bibliotheca sua a Tyrannione, ope librariorum Attici, iam restituenda et de expectato Attici adventu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Perbelle feceris, si ad nos veneris. Offendes designationem Tyrannionis mirificam librorum meorum [bibliotheca], quorum reliquiae multo meliores sunt quam putaram. Etiam velim mihi mittas de tuis librariolis duos aliquos, quibus Tyrannio utatur glutinatoribus, ad cetera administris, iisque imperes, ut sumant

Pisis] *Pisae*, now Pisa, on the coast of Etruria.

4. *Laterio*] *Laterium* was the property of Quintus, and was in Arpinum. *Arceanum*, mentioned below, also belonged to Quintus, and lay near Minturnae.

eo die] 'to-day.' This illustrates well the strange effect of the *epistolary tenses*.

sustentari] 'to be kept back till, kept in abeyance for, your return.' Cicero uses *sustentare* as a synonym of *prolatare*, which is sometimes found with it, Cat. iv. 6.

1. *ad nos*] 'to me here in Antium.' See on next Ep. *fin.* for a different use of *ad nos*.

design. Tyrannionis . . . librorum] for the double gen. See on Att. iv. 1, 2 (Ep. xc.). This refers to his library at Antium, as we learn from Att. iv. 8a.

duos aliquos] 'a couple'; *aliquos* makes the number vague: cp. Pl. Men. v. 5, 47; *hos aliquos viginti dies*, 'the next three weeks or so'; *unos sex dies* is 'just one week,' Trin. i. 2, 129; 'a fortnight is *quindecim dies*, Trin. ii. 4, 1: cp. *quinze jours*, in French.

glutinatoribus] 'for glueing together loose leaves (and) for other purposes.' *Asyndeton*, where there are only two members, is rare; we have *amici*, *pro-pinqui*, Verr. 2 i. 125; *opibus*, *viribus*,

membranulam ex qua indices fiant, quos vos Graeci, ut opinor, *σιλλύβους* appellatis. 2. Sed haec, si tibi erit commodum. Ipse vero utique fac venias, si potes in his locis adhaerescere et Piliam adducere. Ita enim et aequum est et cupit Tullia. Medius fidius ne tu emisti *λόχον* praeclarum: gladiatores audio pugnare mirifice. Si locare voluisses, duobus his muneribus liber esses. Sed

Tusc. iii. 6; so in contracted adjectives used for classification, *publica privata, fanda nefanda, prima postrema*, &c. This *asyndeton* is the rule in referring to colleagues in office—e.g. *L. Marcio Philippo, P. Lentulo Marcellino consulibus*; so in judicial language, *dare facere, aequum bonum*.

The duty of the *glutinatores* would be to glue together the separate leaves of parchment of which the newly-written book consisted, so that they might be rolled round the central reed or stick which formed the axis of the cylinder; they would also have to glue together leaves of old books which had become detached.

indices] strips of papyrus or parchment, on which the title of the book was written in deep red, *coccum* or *minium*; they were probably attached to the upper one of the two *cornua* or 'knobs,' which projected on both ends below and above the cylindrical roll which formed the book.

Hesych. has *σιττύβαι, δερμάτιναι στολαί*; hence *sittybis* has been conjectured here. But the *σιττύβαι* were quite different from the *indices*; they were leathern (sometimes canvass) wrappers, into which the rolls were placed for preservation, and are again to be distinguished from the *capsae, scrinia*, which were wooden cases, into which were put the rolls whether covered by the *sittybae* (*diphtherae, membranae*) or not.

2. *adhaerescere*] 'if you can stick in such places as this'; the word implies, that to stay in a suburban retreat required a voluntary effort of the will. In Att. 4, 8a (Ep. cxii.), Cicero praises Antium, but an expression dropped by him in that letter (§ 2) shows that he was at first bored by the country: 'since Tyrannio has arranged my library, the house seems to have got a soul.' Pilia was the newly-married wife of Att.

Medius fidius ne] *Ne* is found with many asseverative particles *medius fidius, edepol, meccastor*, especially in Cicero and

the comic poets. It must always be in connexion with a personal pronoun, or the demonstrative *ille, iste, hic*, and their adverbs; rarely with a *possessive* pron., as *edepol ne meam*, Ter. Hec. v. 3, 1.

λόχον] 'Certes, you have truly bought a fine troop.' It was the habit of wealthy Romans to speculate in troops of gladiators, whom they let out or sold to the aediles for the public games, and to private individuals for other purposes: for instance, we find Q. Fr. ii. 4, 5 (Ep. cv.), that Att. had sold a gang of roughs to Cato. The reading of the mss. here is *locum*, which is quite unintelligible. Att. had not bought any property near Antium, so far as we know, and the reference here is plainly to the troop of gladiators, of whom Cicero goes on to speak. *Locum* could not mean 'the place where the gladiators were to fight,' for that was always the public amphitheatre, and could not be bought by Att. The usual reading is Ernesti's conj. *ludum*; but I cannot find that this word ever signifies a troop of gladiators; it invariably denotes the *school* in which they were trained. Now, it would be absurd that Cicero should congratulate Att. on having secured a good school, or training-place wherein they could train for the forthcoming spectacles. If this is the meaning of the passage, we might as well retain *locum* of the mss. I have accepted the conj. of Bosius: *λόχος* would be a very natural term for a *troop, familia*, of gladiators, and would appear in the mss. as *locum*, if written in Latin characters, as Greek words very often are in the letters. For instance, in this letter *σιλλύβους* appears as *sillabos* and *syllabos*, and is in some edd. corrupted to *syllabas*.

pugnare mirifice] I hear they are fighting splendidly (*i. e.* in practising for the games).

si . . . esses] 'If you had chosen to hire them out (already), you would have cleared your expenses by the two aedilician spectacles given this year.' Att. could not have wanted the gladiators, except to hire them out or to sell them.

haec posterius. Tu fac venias, et de librariis, si me amas, diligenter.

CVIII. TO ATTICUS, AT ROME (ATT. IV. 5).

ANTIUM, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero de laudatione C. Caesaris a se scripta, quam cum aliis prius quam cum Attico communicaverat, se excusat et cur reliquis principibus relictis ad hunc se potissimum applicet exponit, dein de rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. *Ain* tu? me existimas ab ullo malle mea legi probarique quam a te? Cur igitur cuiquam misi prius? Urguebar

We may suppose he did not think they were as yet sufficiently trained. Corradus, who would read *pugnasse*, suggests that Att. had given a *munus* in honour of his uncle, who died the year before. Boot suspects, from the last words of Att. iv. 8a. (Ep. cxiii.), that the gladiators had not acquitted themselves well, and that the words here should be taken ironically; but the words of that letter do not justify his view.

liber] Boot compares *io, liber ad te venio*, Plin. Ep. iii. 9, 13. *Liberasses* is the ms reading. Boot, retaining *liberasses*, would (in pursuance of his theory about the ironical character of the sentence) explain the word as meaning 'you would have given them all their freedom'; that is, they would have fought so badly that they would all now be 'free among the dead.'

1. *Ain* tu? me] 'What! do you think there is anyone by whom,' &c. Boot seems to be right in rejecting *an* before *me*. After *ain* the mss. often give *an* by a mere dittography; so in Tusc. v. 35, the ms. give *ain* tu? *an* tu, which was rightly corrected by Seyffert, who struck out *an* tu. The meaning is, 'what! do you think there is any by whom I would rather have my writings read and liked than by you?'

misi] This was certainly the document which Cicero calls *παλινφδία*, or his 'recantation.' Many conjectures have been

made identifying this with some one of the writings of Cicero. Some of these may be dismissed. It was certainly not a letter to Caesar, for Cicero would not have excused himself to Att. for not sending first to him a letter written to Caesar; nor is it consistent with the words *mea legi probarique*, which imply a set composition. Nor was it, as Ern. thought, the poem on his consulate, which was written much earlier (Att. ii. 3, 3); nor the poem *de temporibus suis*, to which he refers in Fam. i. 9, 23, in words inconsistent with such expressions as *subringentur* here, when he says that in that poem 'his condemnation of others was gentle and sparing.' If the *παλινφδία* is to be identified with any of the writings of Cicero, and was not merely a letter (which seems impossible from the way in which it is here referred to), it was either the *or. de prov. consularibus*, of which the eulogy of Caesar's conquests in Gaul occupies a large part, or the *or. pro Balbo*, which undoubtedly reads as a bid for the favour not only of Caesar, but of the whole triumvirate. It seems to me that far the most likely hypothesis is that which sees the *παλινφδία* in the *or. de prov. cons.* The greater part of this speech from § 18 to 40 could hardly be better described than by the word *παλινφδία*; it is an *amende honorable* to Caesar, and is largely a historical review of distinguished men who *cum suis inimicissimis in gratiam redeunt*. Thus Cicero declares for Caesar

ab eo, ad quem misi, et non habebam exemplar. Quid? etiam—
 dudum enim circumrodo quod devorandum est—subturpicula mihi
 videbatur esse *παλινωδία*. Sed valeant recta, vera, honesta cōsilia.
 Non est credibile quae sit perfidia in istis principibus, ut volunt
 esse et ut essent, si quidquam haberent fidei. Senseram, noram,
 inductus, relictus, proiectus ab iis, tamen hoc erat in animo, ut
 eum iis in re publica consentirem. Iidem erant qui fuerant. Vix
 aliquando te auctore resipui. 2. Dices eatenus te suasisse, qua
 facerem, non etiam ut scriberem. Ego mehercule mihi necessita-
 tem volui imponere huius novae coniunctionis, ne qua mihi liceret
 labi ad illos, qui etiam tum, cum misereri mei debent, non desi-
 nunt invidere. Sed tamen modici fuimus *ὑποθέσει*, ut scripsi.
 Erimus uberiores, si et ille libenter accipiet et ii subringentur, qui

and the triumvirs, and *recants* his opti-
 mate creed. It is true that the *or. pro*
Balbo contains (§ 61) a passage very simi-
 lar in tone to the *or. de prov. cons.*, but
 the latter *was written first*; it is plainly
 alluded to in *or. pro Balbo*, § 61, and in a
 recantation, if anywhere, *c'est le premier*
pas qui coûte. Moreover, this was the
 first overture to Caesar made by Cicero
 since his exile, whereas he had supported
 the giving of the commissionership of the
 corn supply to Pompeius, and had glori-
 fied him in the *or. pro Sest.* See Momm.
 iv. 311, *note*.

ab eo] This prob. means Pompeius.
 If so, this is another reason for supposing
 the *palinode* to be the *or. de prov. cons.*;
 Pompeius, who is so lavishly glorified in
 the *pro Balbo*, would not have been a
 fit person to transmit the document to
 Caesar.

Quid? etiam] 'anything else? yes':
 see Att. i. 13, 6 (Ep. xix.); and *aliud*
quid? etiam, Att. ii. 6, 2 (Ep. xxxiii.).

circumrodo] 'I keep nibbling round
 my leek that I shall have to swallow'
 (Jeans). But Cicero had eaten the leek
 when he sent his recantation to Caesar.
 The meaning is, 'what I have to confess
 to you is a bitter pill; I shall have to
 swallow it, but you see I can only bring
 myself to nibble at it.' The confession
 is, 'that the recantation was somewhat
 ignominious.'

valeant] 'good-bye to': cp. Att. xvi.
 15, 5—*quare ista valeant*. Thus the pas-
 sage is usually understood; but it is re-
 markable that, in a letter written not very
 long after this, Cicero applies two of these

three adjectives to the conduct of *Pompeius*, to whom he is now transferring his
 allegiance: *tantum animi inductio et me-*
hercule amor erga Pompeium apud me valet
ut quae illi utilia sunt et quae ille vult ea
mihi omnia iam et recta et vera videantur,
 Fam. i. 8, 2. If he here applies the at-
 tributes *recta vera honesta* to the *consilia*
 of the triumvirs, then *valeant* must have
 quite the opposite meaning: 'let the
 straightforward, fair, honourable policy
 (of the triumvirs) prevail; you would
 hardly believe in the possibility of such
 treachery as the leading optimates are
 guilty of.' Cicero has always complained
 of the want of *fides* in the leading opti-
 mates. What he now commends in the
 triumvirs is their straightforwardness.
Vera is 'fair,' as in Att. ii. 1, 8 (Ep.
 xxvii.). The sentiment is τὸ δ' εἶ νικάτω.

Senseram, noram] sc. *quae esset per-*
fidia in istis principibus.

inductus] 'taken in, as I have been':
 see on Att. iii. 15, 7 (Ep. lxxiii.).

fuerant] 'They have now shown them-
 selves to be just the same as they were in
 the matter of my exile.'

2. *Eatenus te suasisse*] 'that your ad-
 vice only had reference to my actions,
 but that you had not advised me to make
 a written confession of faith.'

novae coni.] with the triumvirs.

modici fuimus ὑποθέσει] 'moderate in
 the treatment of my theme.' This is
 quite true of the *or. de prov. cons.* in the
 praise of Caesar, hardly of the *or. pro*
Balbo.

subringentur] *Subringi* (ἀπ. εἶρ.) is 'to
 make a wry face'; hence 'to be annoyed.'

villam me moleste ferunt habere, quae Catuli fuerat, a Vettio me emisse non cogitant: qui domum negant oportuisse me aedificare, vendere aiunt oportuisse. / Sed quid ad hoc, si quibus sententiis dixi quod et ipsi probarent, laetati sunt tamen me contra Pompeii voluntatem dixisse? Finis sit. Quoniam, qui nihil possunt, ii me nolunt amare, demus operam ut ab iis, qui possunt, diligamur. 3. Dices: vellem iam pridem. Scio te voluisse et me asinum germanum fuisse. Sed iam tempus est me ipsum a me amari, quando ab illis nullo modo possum. Domum meam quod crebro invisis, est mihi valde gratum. Viaticum Crassipes praecepit. Tu 'de via recta in hortos.' Videtur commodius ad te: postridie scilicet: quid enim tua? Sed viderimus. Bibliothecam mihi tui pinxerunt constructione et sillibus. Eos velim laudes.

Catuli] Cicero's Tusculan villa had belonged to Catulus, and to Sulla, Plin. H. N. xxii. 6.

vendere] i. e. the site.

quid ad hoc, si] 'what is all that I have told you to the idea of their exulting in the fact that the very speeches which I made in furtherance of the optimate policy were alienating me from Pompeius.' Si laetati sunt = 'if they exulted, as they did:' see Fam. i. 9, 10.

finis sit] cp. deplorandi quidem . . . sit iam nobis aut finis omnino, si potest, aut moderatio quaedam, Att. x. 4, 1.

3. asinum germanum fuisse] Cicero calls himself 'a downright ass' for not having made common cause with the triumvirs long before. Germanus is a favourite expression with Cicero; we meet germanissimus, Ac. ii. 132; cp. germana illuvies, Pl. Most. i. 1, 39; germanae gerrae, Poen. i. 1, 9. Putus, purus putus are used in same way in comic drama; cp. καθάρως τίμων, Ar. Av. 1549. Asinus was used in later Latin as a type of obstinacy rather than of stupidity, as in demitto auriculas ut iniquae mentis asellus, Hor. S. i. 9, 20. Perhaps here, too, Cicero refers to his obstinate pertinacity in adhering to the optimates. The passage Att. i. 16, 12 (Ep. xxii.), where asellus denotes intellectual dulness, is not by Cicero, but in Att. v. 20, 4, asinus (it will be seen) denotes dulness, as often in Pl. and Ter.

domum meam] the house which was being rebuilt at Rome.

Crassipes] 'Crassipes is forestalling all my travelling-money,' that is, 'the ex-

penses of Tullia's betrothal are employing all my spare money.

Tu . . . viderimus] 'You say in your letter to me you must come straight from the road to my suburban villa. I think it would be more convenient to go to your town house; I can go to your horti the next day; for what difference can it make to you? However, we can think it over.' This is Boot's view of the meaning of the sentence, and it is the only one which gives a tolerable sense, for ad te means 'to your town house,' as I have already pointed out.

quid enim tua] sc. refert.

pinxerunt] 'have beautified my library.' There were now no loose strips of parchment lying about. These were now glued together, rolled round the central reed, or stick, which was the axis of the cylinder formed by the rolled parchment, and furnished with indices or sillibus in scarlet letters, Mart. iii. 2, 11.

constructione] this is the putting together of the sheets for rolling them round the stick. Cicero here tells Att. that his librarioli have carried out his intentions expressed in the last letter, they have glued together the rolls of parchment, and have furnished them with indices. Hertzberg conjectured constrictio. Mart. xiv. 37, has constrictos nisi das mihi libellos admittam tinea trucesque blattas. Hence it has been supposed that constrictio meant the tight fastening up of the rolls of parchment in sittybae or cases (see last letter); but constrictio is not a technical term; constrictos in Mart. merely means

tightly rolled. I have no doubt, moreover, that *sillybis* is the right reading here, not *sittybis*. M¹ has *sit tybis*, which merely shows a complete misapprehension of the word, and points to *sillybis* as much as to *sittybis*. Finding *sillybis*, M¹ tried to make something out of it by writing *sit tybis*: M² going further afield, gives *si scribis*, and R. *sic tu iubes*. We must suppose that *sillybis*, which in last letter was only corrupted to *sillabis*, was here written more obscurely in the archetype of M. It is strange that it did not occur to the copyist that the word which puzzled him was the word which he wrote as *sillabis* in the letter before. It is quite possible that more than one copyist was engaged—that the copyist of this letter was not the copyist of the last. If this principle be not admitted, it must be allowed that copyists may give a word rightly in one letter and wrongly in the next. *Constrictos* in Mart. is merely 'tightly rolled:' if Cicero had here wished to describe that process he would have written *constringendo*. When *constructione* was changed to *constrictione*, the reading *sittybis* seemed necessary, for the parchment strips, when tightly rolled, would naturally be put in *sittybae* or 'cases;' but *constructione* seems to be

right: the services referred to in the last letter are now spoken of as accomplished, and so *sittybis* can hardly have been what Cicero wrote: see on Att. iv. 8a, 2 (Ep. cxii.). Marquardt (iv. 794) holds that *sittybos* should be read in Att. iv. 4b, *sittybis* here, and *sittyboe* in Att. iv. 8a, 2. He recognizes only *sittybus* in the same meaning as Becker, Guhl, and Köner, and all the edd. of the letters ascribe to *sillybus*, namely, 'a strip of parchment attached to a roll, bearing the title and the author's name;' and denies the existence of *sillybus*. But Photius, Hesychius, and Pollux, quoted by him, do not say a word about *sittybus*. Photius gives *σίττυβα· δερμάτια*; and Hesychius and Pollux give *σιττύβαι· δερματίναι στολαί*. Hence it would seem that there were two words, *sillybus*, 'a strip of parchment, bearing title and author's name,' and *sittyba*, 'a case;' but no *sittybus*, though Photius seems to recognize *sittybum*. Hence it seems rash to read *sittyboe* in ep. cxii. L. and S. give *sittybus*, and no *sillybus* or *sittyba*, following Marquardt, I suppose. The evidence for *sillybus* is the corrupt *sillabis* in Ep. cvii., and the sponsors for *sittyba* are Hesychius and Pollux. For *sittybus* I cannot see that there is any evidence at all.

CIX. TO LUCCEIUS (FAM. V. 12).

ARPINUM, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero L. Luceium scriptorem historicum non ignobilem hac epistola summa arte composita rogat, ut de rebus a se in consulatu suo gestis et de discessu redituque commentarios componat.

M. CICERO S. D. L. LUCCEIO. Q. F.

1. Coram] me tecum eadem haec agere saepe conantem deterruit pudor quidam paene subrusticus, quae nunc expromam absens audacius: epistola enim non erubescit. Ardeo cupiditate incredibili neque, ut ego arbitror, reprehendenda, nomen ut nostrum scriptis illustretur et celebretur tuis. Quod etsi mihi saepe ostendisti te esse facturum, tamen ignoscas velim huic festinationi meae. Genus enim scriptorum tuorum etsi erat semper a me vehementer expectatum, tamen vicit opinionem meam meque ita vel cepit vel incendit, ut cuperem quam celerrime res nostras monumentis commendari tuis. Neque enim me solum commemoratio posteritatis

CIX.] This letter is extremely interesting, if for no other reason, because Cicero himself describes it as *valde bella*, Att. iv. 6, 4 (ep. cx.). We have in this letter an example of what seemed to Cicero a really pretty letter. We can see therefore that he saw nothing ignoble in asking for a verdict more favourable than the facts of the case would warrant. It would now be considered ungentlemanlike to ask for such a verdict from a friend who was engaged in writing a history. It would be a violation of an unwritten code which now exists, but did not exist in the time of Cicero. A modern, finding himself under the same circumstances as Cicero, would most probably intrigue for the favourable verdict of his friend the historian, but it is very unlikely that he would openly ask for it.

1. Coram] see on Fam. xiii. 6a (Ep. cxv.).

pudor quidam subrusticus] 'a sort of mauvaise honte.'

ignoscas] 'pardon my impatience.' Cp. Att. xii. 26, 1, tuis occupationibus ignosco.

genus] 'the character of your writings,' i.e. 'your success in this branch of literature.' Cp. generi litterarum mearum, Fam. xiii. 6a, 3 (Ep. cxv.). Cicero had seen a specimen of Luceius' work, which greatly increased his admiration, and his desire to secure for himself a place in his history.

res nostras] 'the history of my consulship.' Cp. Att. iv. 6, 4.

commemoratio posteritatis] cp. mea commemoratione, Planc. 95. The genitive in connexion with commemoratio is

ad spem quamdam immortalitatis rapit, sed etiam illa cupiditas, ut vel auctoritate testimonii tui vel indicio benevolentiae vel suavitatem ingenii vivi perfruamur. 2. Neque tamen, haec cum scribebam, eram nescius quantis oneribus premerere susceptarum rerum et iam institutarum, sed quia videbam Italici belli et civilis historiam iam a te paene esse perfectam, dixeras autem mihi te reliquas res ordiri, deesse mihi nolui quin te admonerem, ut cogitares coniunctene malles cum reliquis rebus nostra contexere an, ut multi Graeci fecerunt, Callisthenes Phocium bellum, Timaeus Pyrrhi, Polybius Numantinum, qui omnes a perpetuis suis historiis ea, quae dixi, bella separaverunt, tu quoque item civilem coniurationem ab hostilibus externisque bellis sejungeres. Equidem ad nostram laudem non multum video interesse, sed ad proparationem meam quiddam interest non te exspectare, dum ad locum venias, ac statim causam illam totam et tempus adripere. Et simul, si uno in argumento unaque in persona mens tua tota versabitur, cerno iam animo quanto omnia uberiora atque ornatiora futura sint. Neque tamen ignoro quam impudenter faciam, qui primum tibi tantum oneris imponam—potest enim mihi denegare occupatio tua—, deinde etiam, ut ornes me, postulem. Quid, si illa tibi non tanto opere videntur ornanda? 3. Sed tamen, qui semel verecundiae fines transierit, eum bene et naviter oportet esse impudentem. / Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentis et in eo leges historiae neglegas gratiamque illam, de qua suavissime, plenissime quodam in prooemio scripsisti, a qua te deflecti non magis potuisse demon-

usually an objective genitive; here *posteritatis* is a subjective genitive, 'the praises of future ages.'

vel auct. perfruamur] The meaning of the sentence is that Cicero wishes to enjoy, in his lifetime, that account of his exploits which, if he did not urge Luceius to haste, might not be published till after his death. Cicero seems to feel sure that the account will be favourable; but he is not sure whether the commendation which he expects from Luceius will be the authoritative expression of the historian's real judgment, or a token of friendly feeling on the part of a friend, or, finally, an instance of the sweetness which

characterises the whole disposition of Luceius.

coniunctene] 'to work into the context of your history.' What Cicero preferred was that Luceius should publish a history of his consulate separately.

ad locum] 'to the proper place.' Cp. *epistolae offendant non loco redditae*, 'the irregularity of the delivery,' Fam. xi. 16, 1.

qui . . . imponam] 'in imposing.'

3. *leges historiae*] Cicero gives as *leges historiae* de Or. ii. 62, *nihil falsi dicere, nihil veri omittere, nihil gratiae, nihil simultati dare*.

stras quam Herculem Xenophontium illum a Voluptate, (eam,) si me tibi vehementius commendabit, ne aspernere amorique nostro plusculum etiam quam concedet veritas largiare. Quod si te adducemus ut hoc suscipias, erit, ut mihi persuadeo, materies digna facultate et copia tua. 4. A principio enim coniurationis usque ad reditum nostrum videtur mihi modicum quoddam corpus confici posse, in quo et illa poteris uti civilium commutationum scientia vel in explicandis causis rerum novarum vel in remediis incommo-
 dum, cum et reprehendes ea, quae vituperanda duces, et quae placebunt exponendis rationibus comprobabis et, si liberius, ut consuesti, agendum putabis, multorum in nos perfidiam, insidias, proditorem notabis. Multam etiam casus nostri varietatem tibi in scribendo suppeditabunt plenam cuiusdam voluptatis, quae vehementer animos hominum in legendo, te scriptore, retinere possit. Nihil est enim aptius ad delectationem lectoris quam temporum varietates fortunaeque vicissitudines: quae etsi nobis optabiles in experiendo non fuerunt, in legendo tamen erunt iucundae: habet enim praeteriti doloris secunda recordatio delectationem. 5. Ceteris vero nulla perfunctis propria molestia, casus autem alienos sine ullo dolore intuentibus etiam ipsa misericordia est iucunda. Quem enim nostrum ille moriens apud Mantineam Epaminondas non cum quadam miseratione delectat? qui tum denique sibi evelli iubet spiculum, postea quam ei percontanti dictum est clipeum esse salvum, ut etiam in vulneris dolore aequo animo cum laude moreretur. Cuius studium in legendo non erectum Themistocli fuga †redituque retinetur? Etenim ordo ipse

Herculem] Xen. Mem. ii. 1, 21.
eam]... For this *epanalepsis*, cp. *illud quod . . . id te nunc etiam atque etiam rogo*, Fam. xiii. 57, 2; lex sumptuaria, quae videtur λιτότητα attulisse ea mihi fraudi fuit, Fam. vii. 26, 2.

4. *corpus*] a period of history having an intrinsic unity, 'a volume.' See on Att. ii. 1, 3 (Ep. xxvii.).

habet . . . delectationem] cp. *suavis laborum est praeteritorum memoria*, Fin. ii. 105, Cicero's translation of ἀλλ' ἡδύ τοι σωθέντα μεμῆσθαι πόνων, Eur. Frag. 131 (Nauck).

5. *ceteris*] for the sentiment, see Att. ii. 7. 4 (Ep. xxxiv.) and the note there.

cum quadam mis. delectat] 'the pa-

thetic charm of the scene.' Cp. De Sen. 52, *ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent*.

fuga redituque] But Themistocles did not return. Yet this cannot be a μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα of Cicero, though such are not rare. (In Div. ii. 63 there is a remarkable *lapsus memoriae*, even *Agamemno* for *Ulixes*.) For Cicero, in other places (e.g. Brut. 43; Att. ix. 10, 3; Lael. 42), dwells on the fact that Themistocles did not return after his exile. It is quite impossible that in the word *reditu* Cicero refers to the fact that Themistocles was brought back to Athens after his death, and secretly buried there, though this is referred to in the passage above quoted from the *Brutus*. It has therefore been

annalium mediocriter nos retinet quasi enumeratione fastorum : at viri saepe excellentis ancipites variique casus habent admirationem, expectationem, laetitiam, molestiam, spem, timorem : si vero exitu notabili concluduntur, expletur animus iucundissima lectionis voluptate. 6. Quo mihi acciderit optatius, si in hac sententia fueris, ut a continentibus tuis scriptis, in quibus perpetuam rerum gestarum historiam complecteris, secernas hanc quasi fabulam rerum eventorumque nostrorum : habet enim varios actus mutationesque et consiliorum et temporum. Ac non vereor ne adsentatiuncula quadam aucupari tuam gratiam videar, cum hoc demonstrem, me a te potissimum ornari celebrarique velle. Neque enim tu is es, qui quid sis nescias et qui non eos magis, qui te non admirentur, invidos quam eos, qui laudent, adsentatores arbitrare. Neque autem ego sum ita demens, ut me sempiternae gloriae per eum commendari velim, qui non ipse quoque in me commendando propriam ingenii gloriam consequatur. 7. Neque enim Alexander ille gratiae causa ab Apelle potissimum pingi et a Lysippo fingi volebat, sed quod illorum artem cum ipsis tum etiam sibi gloriae fore putabat. Atque illi artifices corporis simulacra ignotis nota faciebant : quae vel si nulla sint, nihilo sint tamen obscuriores clari viri. Nec minus est Spartiates Agesilaus ille perhibendus, qui neque pictam neque fictam imaginem suam passus est esse,

proposed to read *Alcibiadis* for *Themistocli*. Perhaps what Cicero really wrote was, *Themistocli fuga, Coriolani fuga redituque*. In two of the places quoted above (Att. ix. 10, 3 and Lael. 42) he couples Themistocles and Coriolanus. If the copyist, having written *Themistocli fuga*, happened to raise his eyes from his task, he would mentally note that he was to resume it after the word *fuga*; but if the word *fuga* occurred twice in the passage (the two being separated by only one word, the copyist would very probably go on writing after the second *fuga*, not the first. This is such a prolific source of error in copyists that it would be desirable to have a term to denote it. Perhaps *parablepsy* would be a more convenient term than *corruptio ex homoeoteleuto*.

6. *sententia . . ut . . secernas*] 'if you come to the resolution of separating.'

quasi fabulam] 'a kind of drama.'

quid sis] cp. *si umquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid*, Att. i. 2, 2; *quid enim sum*, Att. iii. 15, 2; *ita nihil est*, Att. i. 19, 4. The meaning of the whole passage is: 'you know your own worth; you are more likely to suspect envy in those who do not admire you, than sycophancy in those who do; and I am not so stupid as to risk my future fame in the hands of one not fitted for the task—of one not capable of showing his own genius while praising me.'

7. *gratiae causa*] as a mark of favour to Apelles and Lysippus.

ignotis] 'to strangers.' *Ignotus*, like *notus*, is sometimes active in meaning (e.g. 2 Verr. i. 19); while *ignarus* is sometimes passive, *mare magnum et ignara lingua commercia prohibebant*, Sall. Jug. 18, 6.

perhibendus] 'deserves (honourable) mention.' Cp. Att. i. 1, 4, Ep. ix., for *perhibere* as a legal term.

quam qui in eo genere laborarunt; unus enim Xenophontis libellus in eo rege laudando facile omnes imagines omnium stātuasque superavit. Atque hoc praestantius mihi fuerit et ad laetitiam animi et ad memoriae dignitatem, si in tua scripta pervenero, quam si in ceterorum, quod non ingenium mihi solum suppeditatum fuerit tuum, sicut Timoleonti a Timaeo aut ab Herodoto Themistocli, sed etiam auctoritas clarissimi et spectatissimi viri et in rei publicae maximis gravissimisque causis cogniti atque in primis probati: ut mihi non solum praeconium, quod, cum in Sigeum venisset, Alexander ab Homero Achilli tributum esse dixit, sed etiam grave testimonium impertitum clari hominis magnique videatur. / Placet enim Hector ille mihi Naevianus, qui non tantum 'laudari' se laetatur, sed addit etiam 'a laudato viro.'

8. Quod si a te non impetraro, hoc est, si quae te res impedierit—neque enim fas esse arbitror quidquam me rogantem abs te non impetrare—, cogar fortasse facere, quod non nulli saepe reprehendunt: scribam ipse de me, multorum tamen exemplo et clarorum virorum. Sed, quod te non fugit, haec sunt in hoc genere vitia: et verecundius ipsi de sese scribant necesse est, si quid est laudandum, et praetereant, si quid reprehendendum est. Accedit etiam, ut minor sit fides, minor auctoritas, multi denique reprehendant et dicant verecundiores esse praecones ludorum gymnycorum, qui cum ceteris coronas imposuerint victoribus eorumque nomina magna voce pronuntiarint, cum ipsi ante ludorum missionem corona donentur, alium praeconem adhibeant, ne sua voce se ipsi victores esse praedicent. 9. Haec nos vitare cupimus et, si recipis causam nostram, vitabimus, idque ut facias rogamus. Ac ne forte mirere cur, cum

in eo genere lab.] 'who have taken much pains in (securing commemoration of) that kind' 'whose energies took that direction.'

libellus] the *Agésilas* of Xenophon.
praeconium] cp. *bucinatores*, 'trumpeter,' Fam. xvi. 21, 2.

Sigeum] see pro Arch. 24.

Hector ille Naevianus] cp. Fam. xvi. 6, 1; and see above on Att. i. 19, 10 (Ep. xxv.). The whole verse is a troch. tetram. cat.—

Lactus sum laudari me abs te, pater, a laudato viro.

written a memoir of his consulship in Greek (Ep. xxv. 10), and had published it (Ep. xxvii. 2). In Ep. xxv. 10 he also speaks of a poem, and of a Latin memoir of his consulship. The latter is probably to be identified with a letter to Pompeius, mentioned pro Sull. 67, pro Planc. 85. Possibly, however, it was a short history of the consulship, and not merely a letter. If so, it may well be referred to here. Cicero may have kept it by him; and it may have occurred to him that, if he failed with Luceius, he would now finish and publish it.

praedicent] 'declare.'

8. *scribam ipse de me]* Cicero had

mihi saepe ostenderis te accuratissime nostrorum temporum consilia
 atque eventus litteris mandaturum, a te id nunc tanto opere et
 tam multis verbis petamus, illa nos cupiditas incendit, de qua initio
 scripsi, festinationis, quod alacres animo sumus, ut et ceteri viven- *fluit*
 tibus nobis ex libris tuis nos cognoscant et nosmet ipsi vivi gloriola
 nostra perfruamur. 10. His de rebus quid acturus sis, si tibi non
 est molestum, rescribas mihi velim. Si enim suscipis causam,
 conficiam commentarios rerum omnium: sin autem differs me in
 tempus aliud, coram tecum loquar. Tu interea non cessabis et ea,
 quae habes instituta, perpolies nosque diliges. *p. 11*

9. *illa nos cupiditas*] This is the answer of Cicero: 'if you wonder why I now so earnestly urge my request, after repeated assurances on your part that you were going to write a minute history of the crisis in my career, (I answer) I am consumed by the feeling of impatience of which I spoke in the beginning of my letter, by an eager desire,' &c. The words *illa nos cupiditas* give the answer of Cicero; we should have expected *scito illam nos cupiditatem incendere*; but this

ellipse is common in Cicero. For the meaning of *tempora*, see Fam. i. 9, 23 (Ep. cliii.). *Gloriola* is found only here and Fam. vii. 5, 3.

10. *commentarios*] 'notes' which would give Luceius the *data* for his memoir.

cessabis] the future is a polite imper., 'you will kindly use all diligence, and polish what you have, and believe me yours very sincerely;' *nos diliges* is one of the conventional *formulae* for winding up a letter.

CX. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 6).

ONE OF THE VILLAS OF CICERO, A. U. C. 698 ; B. C. 56 ; AET. CIC. 50.

Lentulum, cuius obitus erat nuntiatus, non miserum esse scribit, miseros qui vivant et maxime se ipsum praedicat, qui deteriore etiam condicione sit quam ceteri. Dein de scriptis suis, de Luceio a se, ut suas res gestas scriberet, rogato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Lentulo scilicet sic fero, ut debeo: virum bonum et magnum hominem et in summa magnitudine animi multa humani-tate temperatum perdidimus, nosque malo solacio, sed non nullo tamen consolamur, quod ipsius vicem minime dolemus, non ut Saufeius et vestri, sed me hercule quia sic amabat patriam, ut mihi aliquo deorum beneficio videatur ex eius incendio esse ereptus. Nam quid foedius nostra vita, praeipue mea? Nam tu quidem, etsi es natura πολιτικός, tamen nullam habes propriam servitutem, †communi fueris nonne.† 2. Ego vero, qui, si loquor de re publica

1. *De Lentulo*] L. Corn. Lentulus Niger, Flamen Martialis, had just died. He is probably the same as the Lentulus mentioned Att. ii. 24, 2 (Ep. li.). If so, his father, as well as he himself, was a Flamen.

sic fero ut debeo] 'I feel his loss, as I have good reason to feel it. We have lost a true patriot in him, and a fine fellow, too, uniting remarkable strength of character with great charm of manner.'

Saufeius et vestri] The Epicureans would be withheld from grief by their belief that death is no evil. Cicero says this is not the thought which assuages his grief, but the reflection that a patriot like Lentulus is taken away from the evil to come.

etsi es πολιτικός] 'you, although by nature you have strong political feelings (and so must feel acutely the present

state of things), do not personally feel the galling of the chain.' Then Cicero goes on to show how he himself was, *in a peculiar sense*, galled by the general state of slavery. Atticus had never taken part in public life; therefore Cicero says, 'though you are in heart a politician' (though not in act).

†*communi*] I have thought it better to obelise the words of the mss, than to give a place in the text to the conjecture of Pius, *communi frueris nomine*, 'you have the benefit of the general name of slave which applies to all.' For other conjectures, see Adn. Crit. The conjecture of Pius is not satisfactory: indeed the word *nomine* seems to me almost devoid of meaning. I should prefer to read (keeping closer to the mss): *communi frueris. Nonne?* 'you have a right to your share of the general slavery. Is not that so?' I would take the word *frueris*, as used

quod oportet, insanus, si quod opus est, servus existimor, si taceo, oppressus et captus, quo dolore esse debeo? Quo sum scilicet, hoc etiam acriore, quod ne dolere quidem possum, ut non ingratus videar. Quid? si cessare libeat et in otii portum confugere? Nequiquam. Immo etiam in bellum et in castra! Ergo erimus ὁπαδοί, qui ταγοὶ esse noluimus? Sic faciendum est. Tibi enim ipsi, cui utinam semper paruissem, sic video placere. Reliquum iam est: Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύταν κύσμει. Non mehercule possum, et Philoxeno ignosco, qui reduci in carcerem maluit. Verum tamen id ipsum mecum in his locis commentor, ut ista improbem, idque tu, cum una erimus, confirmabis. A te litteras crebro ad me scribi video, sed omnes uno tempore accepi. Quae res etiam auxit dolorem meum. Casu enim trinas ante legeram, quibus meliuscule Lentulo esse scriptum erat. Ecce quartae fulmen. Sed ille, ut

with bitter irony, in the juridical sense: 'no one can legally dispute your right to your share of the general slavery, though you have no claim to the peculiar and personal sense of degradation which is my privilege.'

2. *quod oportet*] is 'what duty enjoins; ' *quod opus est* is 'what expediency dictates.' Boot compares *hoc fieri et oportet et opus est*, Att. xiii. 25, 1. Here the course which duty demands is to espouse, heart and soul, the optimate cause; the course which expediency suggests is to make common cause with the triumvirs. So *opus esse, necesse non esse*, 'was desirable (expedient), but not indispensable.'

quo sum scilicet] is the answer to the question, *quo dolore esse debeo*?

ut non] 'without seeming ungrateful, (to those who brought about my restoration from exile).'

ὁπαδοί . . . ταγοί] Cicero, as usual, employs Greek words when he wishes to be very emphatic. In the same tone, we might say, 'am I to shoulder the knapsack, after refusing to wield the *báton*?'

sic faciendum est] i. e. to declare war with the *optimates*, and approach the triumvirs.

Σπάρταν] See on Att. i. 20, 3 (Ep. xxvi.). Cicero's Σπάρτα or 'peculiar province' here is to support the triumvirs.

Philoxeno] Philoxenus of Cythera, a dithyrambic poet (b. c. 435-380), was

consigned to the quarries by Dionysius of Syracuse, for criticising unfavourably the compositions of the tyrant. The story went that he was released, and given a chance of liberty by being again called on for a literary judgment on the works of his master. After reading a few verses, he turned and walked towards the quarries. Dionysius called out, 'Where are you going?' 'To the quarries,' was the reply of this model critic.

ista] if the text is sound, *ista* must refer to the policy of the leading *optimates*. And this fairly suits the context. Cicero says, 'I will not glorify the triumvirs, but I am prepared to condemn the *optimates*, my former political associates, and you will keep me up to this.' If we read against the mss, *ista ne improbem* or *ista probem*, then *ista* means the conduct of the triumvirs. But this would be very strange, when he has just said *non mehercule possum*. He had already gone a long way in the direction which Philoxenus repudiated, in the *pro Balbo* and the *de prov. cons*. So that *ista ne improbem* or *ista probem* would seem too weak, unless *ista probem* could mean 'give them my full sanction.' Besides, writing to Atticus, he would not have said *ista* in reference to the policy of the triumvirs.

ecce quartae fulmen] 'then comes the news in the fourth like a thunderbolt on me.' The fourth letter told of the death of Lentulus.

scripsi, non miser, nos vero ferrei. 3. Quod me admones, ut scribam illa Hortensiana, in alia incidi, non immemor istius mandati tui. Sed mehercule *in* incipiendo refugi, ne, qui videor stulte illius amici intemperiem non tulisse, rursus stulte iniuriam illius faciam illustrem, si quid scripsero, et simul, ne βαθύτης mea, quae in agendo apparuit, in scribendo sit occultior et aliquid satisfactio levitatis habere videatur. 4. Sed viderimus. Tu modo quam saepissime ad me aliquid. Epistolam, Luceio quam misi, qua meas res ut scribat rogo, fac ut ab eo sumas—valde bella est—eumque, ut appropere, adhorteris et, quod mihi se ita facturum rescripsit, agas gratias, domum nostram, quoad poteris, invisas, Vestorio aliquid significes: valde enim est in me liberalis.

ferrei] This is the reading of M², which has been variously emended by the edd. Or. explains *ferrei* 'nimis patientes, ἀπαθείς, qui adhuc vivamus nec voluntaria morte nos liberemus.' This would certainly not be a natural expression, nor would it suit the context. Hence the number of conjectures (see Adn. Crit.). But Kayser saw the real meaning of the word. He writes: 'quibus *ferrei* displicet non meminisse videntur Hesiodi loci' Εργ. 174, 175:—

νῦν γὰρ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον, οὐδέ ποτ' ἡμᾶρ
παύσονται καμάτων καὶ οἰζύος, οὐδέ τι νύκτωρ.

The meaning is, 'we are the Iron Age of Hesiod, steeped to the lips in misery.'

3. *Hortensiana*] This would be some pamphlet touching the perfidy of Hortensius, of which Cicero often complains. This is in favour of the interpretation which I have given above of the ms reading, *ut ista improbem*, which I have given in the text.

illius amici] 'of Hortensius, when a friend.'

βαθύτης] 'self-restraint,' as in Att. v. 10, 3; vi. 1, 2. We use the word

'deep' in the same way of a man who conceals his feelings from motives of prudence. 'Lest my self-restraint, which was shown in my conduct, should not appear so clearly in my writing.'

et . . . videatur] 'and lest such a mode of taking satisfaction might look a little weak,' that is, lest it might seem weak to put up with an injury, and then avenge it in a *brochure*. Bosius' conjecture, *oculatio* for *occultior*, due to a misapprehension on his part of the meaning of βαθύτης, and only supported by his feigned *codices*, has vitiated the interpretation of this whole passage, as may be seen by referring to the edd. of Schütz and Billerbeck. The conjecture was in itself highly ingenious.

4. *valde bella est*] This is interesting as showing that Cicero took care, with some at least of his letters, to give them artistic finish and beauty. The letter is, indeed, a model of grace and ingenuity. See the first note on Fam. v. 12 (Ep. cix.).

aliquid significes] *sc.* eum tibi et mihi gratum facere. Ern.

CXI. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 7).

ARPINUM, A. U. C. 698 ; B. C. 56 ; AET. CIC. 50.

De Q. puero, de Apollonio, de Metelli testamento non improbo, de rebus domesticis, de Milone admonendo, de Arpinatium fremitu de Laterio, de Cicerone puero.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nihil *εὐκαιρότερον* epistola tua, quae me sollicitum de Quinto nostro, puero optimo, valde levavit. Venerat horis duabus ante Chaerippus: mera monstra nuntiarat. De Apollonio quod scribis, qui illi di irati! homini Graeco, qui *conturbat*, et idem putat sibi licere, quod equitibus Romanis: nam Terentius suo iure. 2. De Metello, *οὐχ ὁσίη φθιμένοισιν*, sed tamen multis annis civis nemo erat mortuus, qui quidem . . . tibi nummi meo peri-

1. *εὐκαιρότερον*] 'more à propos.'

Chaerippus] one of the suite of Q. Cicero in Asia, not the Greek Chaerippus referred to in Att. v. 2, 4.

mera monstra] 'his news was simply dreadful:' cp. Att. ix, 11, 4; Q. Fr. ii. 6, 5; and see on Att. iv. 18, 1.

qui] cp. *qui illum di omnes perduint*, common in the comic drama. It is a colloquial expression not found elsewhere in classical Latin, but also found in Ennius.

Apollonius] Cicero ironically complains of the audacity of a Greek who usurps the sacred privilege of the *equites*. Terentius and Apollonius were both, no doubt, debtors to Atticus. It was bad enough that a Roman *eques* should become bankrupt and stop payment, but in a Greek it was quite intolerable.

2. *De Metello*] probably the Q. Metellus Nepos, who is described as *malum atque improbum civem* (Asc. or. pro Corn.). He cannot be Metellus Creticus, whom Cicero always praises; nor the Metellus Nepos who was consul 697, for he was alive in 700. Boot.

οὐκ ὁσίη φθιμένοισιν] *ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι*, Hom. Od. xxii. 412. Cicero uses this Greek quotation just where we should say *de mortuis*, or *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. The word in Homer is

καταμένοισιν: see vol. I², p. 67, n. By a similar *μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα*, Cicero writes *Agamemno* for *Ulixes* in de Div. ii. 63.

qui quidem] some unfavourable criticism is suppressed.

tibi] This sentence and the next following are very obscure. A kind of meaning has been extracted from them by the liberal assumption of a not very natural use of *aposiopesis*, and a not very graceful irony. The attempt to emend is desperate; but we can hardly suppose that we have the real words of Cicero. Most edd. reading *fecit non improbe* (a very doubtful phrase), understand the meaning to be something like this: 'As to the money that the deceased Metellus owes you, I'll go security for it (that it will never be paid). His leaving P. Clodius his heir destroys your last chance. Yet his act in so doing was not one of his usual blackguard acts. After all, his heir was his next-of-kin. So you won't have the trouble of opening your coffers to put in that debt. You must be more cautious for the future.' But Cicero would hardly have expressed this meaning in so unnatural a way. 'You have no reason to fear his heir, whoever he may be, unless he be Publius,' is a very

culo sint: quid enim vereris, quemcumque heredem fecerit, nisi Publium fecit? Verum fecit non improbum, quamquam fuit ipse. . . . Qua re in hoc thecam nummariam non retexeris: in aliis eris cautior. 3. Mea mandata de domo curabis, praesidia locabis, Milonem admonebis. Arpinatium fremitus est incredibilis de Laterio. Quid quaeris? Equidem dolui, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπά-
 ζετο μύθων. Quod superest etiam, puerum Ciceronem curabis et amabis, ut facis.

unnatural way of saying 'his making Publius his heir destroys your last chance.' I have marked another *aposiopesis* after *ipse*. If he refrains from characterising Metellus above, I do not see why he should not do so again. We have no reason to believe he left P. Clodius his heir. I read *improbum* (of I), which is accepted by Wes. And I fully acquiesce in the view of Schütz as to the meaning of the whole passage. He holds that the whole passage is serious. Reading *improbum*, I understand Cicero to mean: 'I warrant you will get back your loan to Metellus. For what have you to fear, no matter whom he has made his heir, unless, indeed, he made a Clodius his heir [which he has not done]? But he has made no rake his heir, though he was himself. . . I won't say what. Wherefore you will have no occasion to draw on your coffers to recoup this loss. You will be repaid the loan

by the respectable heir of Metellus. Let this affair teach you a lesson of caution for the future. If Metellus had not died, who knows if you would ever have been paid?'

It will be observed that the passage thus explained falls in well with my theory of the meaning of the next letter.

3. *praesidia*] 'the gangs' which formed Milo's body-guard. A gang is called λόχος above, Att. iv. 4b, 2 (Ep. cvii.).

fremitus est incr.] 'you can't conceive how they grumble.'

Laterium] an estate of Q. Cicero in Arpinum. He had done something which was very annoying to the Arpinates: it seems most probable, from subsequent letters, that it was the diverting of a watercourse which led to the ill-feeling. Cicero says, 'I was much distressed. But little he recked my rede' (quoting from Od. i. 271).

CXII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 8 a).

ANTIUM A. U. C. 698 ; B. C. 56 ; AET. CIC. 50.

Epistola de variis rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Multa me in epistola tua delectarunt, sed nihil magis quam patina tyrotarichi. Nam de raudusculo quod scribis,

μήπω μέγ' εἴπῃς, πρὶν τελευτήσαντ' ἔδῃς.

Aedificati tibi in agris nihil reperio. In oppido est quiddam, de quo est dubium, sitne venale, ac proximum quidem nostris aedibus. Hoc scito, Antium Buthrotum esse Romae, ut Coreyrae illud tuum. Nihil quietius, nihil alsius, nihil amoenius: εἴη μοι οὔτος φίλος οἶκος. 2. Postea vero quam Tyrannio mihi libros disposuit,

1. *patina tyrotarichi*] This 'dish of potted fish and cheese' is a proverbial profession for a spare diet (also called *λιτότης* by Cicero), as may be seen from *Fam.* ix. 16, 7, 9. The meaning of the whole passage probably is: 'I was pleased to see by your letter that you take a philosophical view about the money lent to Metellus; you say, "to a man of my simple habits such a loss is not serious; I can easily recoup myself by plain living." For as to the money lent (and the chances of repayment, to which I referred in my last letter), the aphorism you quote is very applicable — *Don't holloa till you're out of the wood.*' These words from Sophocles are quoted by Plato, *Soph.* 238 A, in the same sense: 'do not boast till you see the end (*τελευτήσαντα* is accus. plur. neut.): we should say, 'don't count your chickens before they're hatched,' or 'don't holloa till you're out of the wood.' This explanation of the meaning of the whole passage quite falls in with the view adopted in my notes on the letter before this. Many other views have been taken of Cicero's meaning in this passage, but they rest on the vaguest conjecture.

aedificati] 'anything in the shape of a building.' Such is the force of the neuter participle. Atticus had told Cicero to

look out for a house for him in the neighbourhood of Antium.

proximum] It is impossible to decide whether this word indicates topographical nearness to Cicero's house, or *proximum* is used as in *Att.* ii. 6, 2 (*Ep.* xxxiii.), to signify that it is 'nearly as pleasant.'

Antium Buthrotum esse Romae] 'Let me tell you that Antium is the Buthrotum of Rome, as your Buthrotum is the Buthrotum of Coreyra.' Cicero wishes to say that Antium is to Rome as Buthrotum to Coreyra, but not having our traditional phrases to express relation, he is bound to have recourse to a rather awkward expression. Ern. reads *Antium esse Romae ut Coreyrae Buthrotum illud tuum*, a construction which would, I think, be hard to parallel in Cicero, though it closely resembles modern usage.

εἴη μοι] 'be this my home, sweet home.' Cicero refers to the Greek proverb, φίλος οἶκος οἶκος ἄριστος, 'there's no place like home.' The attempt to explain the vulg. reading, εἴη μισητὸς φίλος οἶκος, 'let my home on the Palatine be (in comparison with this) despised,' is plainly futile. The text is the conjecture of Peerlkamp. It is only necessary to look through the *Adn. Crit.* to see that the copyists of Cicero's letters were absolutely ignorant of Greek, and never but

mens addita videtur meis aedibus: qua quidem in re mirifica opera Dionysii et Menophili tui fuit. Nihil venustius quam illa tua pegmata, postquam sillybi libros illustrarunt. Vale. Tu scribas ad me velim de gladiatoribus, sed ita, bene si rem gerunt, non quaero, male si se gessere.

CXIII. FROM Q. METELLUS NEPOS, IN SPAIN,
TO CICERO (FAM. V. 3).

A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Q. Metellus queritur de contumeliosis in se contionibus necessarii cuiusdam sui, fortasse P. Clodii: a M. Cicerone in rebus suis adiuvari cupit.

Q. METELLUS NEPOS S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Hominis importunissimi contumeliae, quibus crebris contionibus me onerat, tuis erga me officiis leniuntur et, ut sunt leves ab eius modi homine, a me despiciuntur, libenterque commutata persona te mihi fratris loco esse duco. 2. De illo ne meminisse quidem volo, tametsi bis eum invitum servavi. De meis rebus ne vobis multitudine litterarum molestior essem, ad Lollium perscripsi de rationibus provinciae quid vellem fieri, ut is vos doceret et comonefaceret. Si poteris, velim pristinam tuam erga me voluntatem conserves.

by chance wrote down words which even *could* be Greek.

2. *mens*] 'my house seems no longer chaos.' Cicero, in making *mens* 'the principle of order,' was perhaps thinking of the Anaxagorean *voûs*: *pegmata* = 'book-cases.'

sillybi] is surely the right reading here. *Sittybae* is quite unsuitable to *illustrarunt*. For this and the gladiators, see on Att. iv. 4b (Ep. cvii.) and Att. iv. 5, 3 (Ep. cviii.).

Vale] is often followed by a postscript: see Att. v. 19, 2.

ita . . . si] 'only if.'

1. *hominis importunissimi*] most probably P. Clodius, who resented Metellus' good-will to Cicero.

fratris] 'cousin'; the father of Metellus and the mother of Clodius were brother and sister.

2 *bis*.] See Att. iv. 3, 3 (Ep. xcii.).

Lollium] not to be identified (as by Billerb.) with the Lollius referred to in the speech *pro dom.* It is not probable that Lollius would now be on friendly terms with Cicero and Metellus: see *pro dom.* §§. 13, 14, 89.

CXIV. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, PROCONSUL OF
CILICIA (FAM. I. 7).

ROME, A. U. C. 698 ; B. C. 56 ; AET. CIC. 50.

De litterarum ad P. Lentulum crebritate, de amicorum fide, de causa regia, de suis consiliis, de constantia tenenda, de suo et rei publicae statu, de Tulliae nuptiis, de Lentulo filio.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Legi tuas litteras, quibus ad me scribis gratum tibi esse, quod crebro certior per me fias de omnibus rebus et meam erga te benevolentiam facile perspicias: quorum alterum mihi, ut te plurimum diligam, facere necesse est, si volo is esse, quem tu me esse voluisti, alterum facio libenter, ut, quoniam intervallo locorum et temporum diiuncti sumus, per litteras tecum quam saepissime colloquar. Quod si rarius fiet, quam tu exspectabis, id erit causae, quod non eius generis meae litterae sunt, ut eas audeam temere committere. Quotiens mihi certorum hominum potestas erit quibus recte dem, non praetermittam. 2. Quod scire vis qua quisque in te fide sit et voluntate, difficile dictu est de singulis. Unum illud audeo, quod antea tibi saepe significavi, nunc quoque re perspecta et cognita scribere, vehementer quosdam homines et eos

1. *quorum alterum . . . colloquar*] The first *alterum* refers to the clause (*quod*) . . . *perspicias*; the second refers to *quod . . . rebus*. 'The latter—my strong affection for you—is my bounden duty, if I am to deserve my present position, which you were so instrumental in securing for me; the former—my regularity in corresponding with you, far apart as we are in place and circumstances—is a pleasure.' *Ut te diligam* = *te diligere*, and is parenthetical: see on Ep. xii. 42. The sentence may be paraphrased; the latter—my love for you—is a duty; the former—my regular correspondence with you—is a pleasure.' Hofm. explains *intervallo locorum et temporum*, 'now that we are so far separated, and have not seen each other for so long,' which is of course quite possibly the meaning; but my rendering gives to *temporum* a meaning

which it often has in the letters, and Hofmann's version would seem to demand some such word as *tanto* before *intervallo*.

id . . . causae] This construction, very common in ante-classical writers, is not infrequent in Cicero; we have *hoc causae est*, Ver. iii. 109; *quid causae censeatis esse*, De Or. ii. 92; *quid est aliud causae*, ib. iii. 185: cp. *quid negotii est*, Tusc. i. 11; *quid eius sit*, Att. xvi. 4, 3; *hoc litterularum*, Att. xii. 1, 1; *quid hominis sit*, Att. vii. 3, 9. Similar is the gen. in *quod (quoad) eius, iam loci, ubi gentium*, &c. Draeger, *Historische Syntax*, i. 449. Roby, ii. xxxviii., regards these as examples of predicative dative.

certorum] 'trustworthy.' *Certus* sometimes seems to be the same as *πῆς*, but never is; the meaning in such cases is 'men whom I well wot of, but do not name;' *recte* is 'safely.'

maxime, qui te et maxime debuerunt et plurimum iuvare potuerunt, invidisse dignitati tuae, simillimamque in re dissimili tui temporis nunc et nostri quondam fuisse rationem: ut, quos tu rei publicae causa laeseras, palam te oppugnarent, quorum auctoritatem, dignitatem voluntatemque defenderas, non tam memores essent virtutis tuae quam laudis inimici. Quo quidem tempore, ut perscripsi ad te antea, cognovi Hortensium percupidum tui, studiosum Lucullum, ex magistratibus autem L. Racilius et fide et animo singulari. Nam nostra propugnatio ac defensio dignitatis tuae propter magnitudinem beneficii tui fortasse plerisque officii maiorem auctoritatem habere videatur quam sententiae. 3. Praeterea quidem de consularibus nemini possum aut studii erga te aut officii aut amici animi esse testis. Etenim Pompeius, qui mecum saepissime non solum a me provocatus, sed etiam sua sponte de te communicare solet, scis temporibus illis non saepe in senatu fuisse. Cui quidem litterae tuae, quas proxime miseris, quod facile intellexerim, periucundae fuerunt. Mihi quidem humanitas tua vel summa potius sapientia non iucunda solum, sed etiam admirabilis visa est. Virum enim excellentem et tibi tua praestanti in eum liberalitate devinctum, non nihil suspicantem propter aliquorum opinionem suae cupiditatis te ab se abalienatum, illa epistola retinuisti. Qui mihi cum semper tuae laudi favere visus est, etiam ipso suspiciosissimo tempore Caniniano, tum vero lectis tuis litteris perspectus est a me toto animo de te ac de tuis ornamentis et commodis cogitare. 4. Qua re ea, quae scribam, sic habeto, me cum

2. *Simillimam. . . . rationem*] 'that your political position is very analogous to what mine was, though the circumstances are so different.' That is, you, though high in office, are the victim of secret jealousy, as I was when I was exiled.

ut . . . oppugnarent] 'in the fact that they are your avowed enemies whom,' &c. The clauses *ut . . . inimici* give the points in which the cases of Lentulus and Cicero were similar; the points of dissimilarity are dwelt on in § 8.

officii . . . sententiae] 'my advocacy of your claims will be looked on more as the discharge of an obligation to you than as an expression of my real view of the merits of the case.' The meaning would have been more clear if Cicero had written *magis* instead of *maiores*. So Horace

tibi praeda cedat maior an illi, 'rather than to him' [where *maior an illa* can hardly be the right reading].

3. *temporibus illis*] Pompeius had retired to his own house to avoid the violence of Clodius, Q. Fr. ii. 3, 2.

liberalitate] your generosity in proposing to give Pompeius the corn-commissionership.

opinionem suae cup.] the impression that Pompeius wanted for himself the commission to restore Ptolemy; cp. *suspicionem Pompeii voluntatis* (Fam. i. 1, 3).

suspiciosissimo] 'even in the Caninian episode, when his feelings towards you might well have been misconstrued,' that is, when Caninius proposed that Pompeius, with two lieutors, should restore Ptolemy.

4. *sic habeto*] It seems hardly possible

illo re saepe communicata de illius ad te sententia atque auctoritate scribere: quoniam senatus consultum nullum exstat, quo reductio regis Alexandrini tibi adempta sit, eaque, quae de ea scripta est, auctoritas, cui scis intercessum esse, ut ne quis omnino regem reduceret, tantam vim habet, ut magis iratorum hominum studium quam constantis senatus consilium esse videatur, te perspicere posse, qui Ciliciam Cyprumque teneas, quid efficere et quid consequi possis, et, si res facultatem habitura videatur, ut Alexandriam atque Aegyptum tenere possis, esse et tuae et nostri imperii dignitatis Ptolemaïde aut aliquo propinquo loco rege collocato te cum classe atque exercitu proficisci Alexandriam, ut, eam cum pace praesidiisque firmaris, Ptolemaeus redeat in regnum: ita fore ut et per te restituatur, quem ad modum senatus initio censuit, et sine multitudine reducatur, quem ad modum homines religiosi Sibyllae placere dixerunt. 5. Sed haec sententia sic et illi et nobis probabatur, ut ex evento homines de tuo consilio existimatuos videmus; si cecidisset, ut volumus et optamus, omnes te et sapienter et fortiter, si aliquid esset offensum, eosdem illos et cupide et temere fecisse dicturos. Qua re quid adsequi possis non tam

that Cicero should suddenly pass into the indirect form of narrative in the apodosis of the sentence—that he should have written, in fact, *te perspicere posse*, when the structure of the sentence demanded *tu perspicere potes*. Does not *te perspicere posse* depend on *sic habeto me scribere*? The indicatives *exstat . . . habet* are then regular, as they are the words of Cicero himself, and account for the view which he takes of the situation; while *possis videatur*, &c., are in the conjunctive, depending on *te persp. posse*, and giving the grounds on which Lentulus could himself form a better judgment on the situation than his friends at Rome. The whole passage would then mean: ‘you may take this as my deliberate conclusion expressed to you on Pompeius’ view and judgment of your case, founded, too, on many interviews with him—since there is no Setum depriving you of the commission, and since the *Senatus auctoritas*, which (you know) was vetoed, can only be regarded as the expression of party feeling, not the deliberate judgment of the Senate—that you, as governor of Cilicia, can take a clearer view than others of the extent of your powers, and

your chances of success; and that it is demanded by your dignity, and the dignity of our empire there, that you (if circumstances should give you the chance of maintaining Alexandria and Egypt) should proceed to Alexandria, having left the king at Ptolemais, or some place in the neighbourhood, so that when you have pacified and garrisoned Alexandria, Ptolemy may return to his throne.’ *Esse (tuae dignitatis)* depends on *sic habeto me scribere*, and *proficisci* depends on *esse (tuae dignitatis)*; lastly, *fore* in the next clause depends on *sic habeto me scribere*.

[*de illius ad te sententia*] For the order of the words, cp. *de meis ad te rationibus scripsi*, Att. i. 2, 1 (Ep. xi.): see Madv. 467 a.

5. *sententia . . . videremus*] ‘our approval of this view did not prevent our perceiving.’

[*evento*] more usually *eventu*, as below, § 5; cp. *eventis*, § 9; *eventi*, Att. iii. 8, 4 (Ep. lxiv.).

[*offensum*] ‘if there were any hitch;’ so *offensio* below is ‘a slip,’ ‘a mishap.’ Hofm. quotes 2 Verr. v. 131, *multi viri fortes . . . et terra, et mari saepe offenderunt*. Cp. *πταίειν*.

facile est nobis quam tibi, cuius prope in conspectu Aegyptus est, iudicare. Nos quidem hoc sentimus: si exploratum tibi sit posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum: si dubium sit, non esse conandum. Illud tibi adfirmo, si rem istam ex sententia gesseris, fore ut absens a multis, cum redieris, ab omnibus collaudere. Offensionem esse periculosam propter interpositam auctoritatem religionemque video. Sed ego te, ut ad certam laudem adhortor, sic a dimicatione deterreo redeoque ad illud, quod initio scripsi, totius facti tui iudicium non tam ex consilio tuo quam ex eventu homines esse facturos. 6. Quod si haec ratio rei gerendae periculosa tibi esse videbitur, placebat illud, ut, si rex amicis tuis, qui per provinciam atque imperium tuum pecunias ei credidissent, fidem suam praestitisset, et auxiliis eum tuis et copiis adiuvares: eam esse naturam et regionem provinciae tuae, ut illius redditum vel adiuvando confirmares vel neglegendo impedires. In hac ratione quid res, quid causa, quid tempus ferat tu facillime optimeque perspicies: quid nobis placuisset ex me potissimum putavi te scire oportere. 7. Quod mihi de nostro statu, de Milonis familiaritate, de levitate et imbecillitate Clodii gratularis, minime miramur te tuis ut egregium artificem praeclaris operibus laetari: quamquam est incredibilis hominum perversitas—graviore enim verbo uti non libet—, qui nos, quos favendo in communi causa retinere potuerunt, invidendo abalienarunt: quorum malevolentissimis obtrectationibus nos scito de vetere illa nostra, diuturnaue sententia prope iam esse depulsos, non nos quidem ut nostrae dignitatis simus obliti, sed ut habeamus rationem aliquando etiam

6. *placebat illud*] 'our advice in that case is.'

praestitisset] *Praestare* is properly 'to go security for,' 'to guarantee.' *Praestare fidem* is 'to guarantee (the fulfilment of) an undertaking;' Fam. v. 11, 2. quaecumque ei *fidem* dederis *praestabo*.

regionem] Hofm. explains this word as meaning *Lage*, 'situation,' and says it is not elsewhere found in exactly the same sense; but its sense here is rather 'situation-opposite-to,' and *regio* means 'the fact of being opposite (*e regione*),' a meaning which the word sometimes bears, e.g. Caes. B. C. i. 69; Curt. viii. 46, 23. Cicero says, 'such is the nature of your province, and so directly opposite does it lie to Alexandria, that you would be

very powerful in aiding or thwarting his return.' *Regio*, however, seems to mean *Lage* in Balb. 64.

7. *levitate et imbecillitate*] 'the paltry, feeble conduct.'

ut egregium artificem] The thought is the same as in Att. ii. 21, 4 (Ep. xlviii.), 'in the state of things which you have brought about you must feel the delight of an artist in his masterpiece;' his restoration and subsequent triumph over Clodius Cicero ascribes mainly to Lentulus.

perversitas] 'wrong-headedness' (Jeans). *depulsos*] 'driven from my old standpoint of principle, not indeed into forgetting my position, but into taking thought for my security.'

salutis. Poterat utrumque praeclare, si esset fides, si gravitas in hominibus consularibus: sed tanta est in plerisque levitas, ut eos non tam constantia in re publica nostra delectet quam splendor offendat. 8. Quod eo liberius ad te scribo, quo non solum temporibus his, quae per te sum adeptus, sed iam olim nascenti prope nostrae laudi dignitatisque favisti, simulque quod video non, ut antehac putabam, novitati esse invisum meae: in te enim, homine omnium nobilissimo, similia invidorum vitia perspexi: quem tamen illi esse in principibus facile sunt passi, evolare altius certe noluerunt. Gaudeo tuam dissimilem fuisse fortunam: multum enim interest utrum laus imminuatur an salus deseratur. Me meae tamen ne nimis paeniteret, tua virtute perfectum est. Curasti enim ut plus additum ad memoriam nominis nostri quam demptum de fortuna videretur. 9. Te vero ego moneo cum beneficiis tuis tum amore incitatus meo, ut omnem gloriam, ad quam a pueritia inflammatus fuisti, omni cura atque industria consequare, magnitudinemque animi tui, quam ego semper sum admiratus semperque amavi, ne umquam inflectas cuiusquam iniuria. Magna est hominum opinio de te, magna commendatio liberalitatis, magna memoria consulatus. Haec profecto vides quanto expressiora quantoque illustriora futura sint, cum aliquantum ex provincia atque ex imperio laudis accesserit. Quamquam te ita gerere volo, quae per exercitum atque imperium gerenda sunt, ut haec multo ante meditare, huc te pares, haec cogites, ad haec te exerceas sentiasque—id quod quia semper sperasti, non dubito quin adeptus intellegas—, te facillime posse obtinere summum atque altissimum gradum civi-

Poterat] sc. *feri*; see on Fam. i. 2, 4 (Ep. xvi.).

levitas] 'little-mindedness.'

8. *temporibus*] 'position.'

non . . . meae] 'that it was not my want of nobility which excited dislike' (Watson).

quem tamen] 'yet in your case too;'
cp. *ita molesta ut tamen sine perniciē, Att. ii. 21, 1*; *multae tamen artis, Q. Fr. ii. 11, 4* (Ep. cxxxi.): and note there.

laus imminuatur] This would be the case of Lentulus if refused the commission.

salus deseratur] This was the fate of Cicero when exiled.

meae] sc. *fortunaē*.

demptum de fortuna] This word seems not to refer to *fortune* in the sense of *property*, but to mean *position*. In later Latin *fortuna* referred specially to the

position of the Emperor: *libentius cum fortuna nostra quā nobiscum loquuntur*, 'they prefer to address us as Emperors than as men,' Tac. H. i. 15.

9. *comm. liberal.*] *liberalitatis* is not so probably subjective gen., 'your liberality is a great source of popularity,' as the objective, meaning 'men loudly commend your liberality.' Lentulus had given very splendid entertainments as Aedile in the year of Cicero's consulate.

expressiora] 'more marked.'

haec . . . meditare] *Haec* refers to what follows, his prospects at Rome. Observe that *huc* is used quite as a synonym of *ad haec*.

obtinere] 'maintain.' It is commonly held that *obtinere* never means 'to obtain.' Mr. J. S. Reid, however, on Cic.

tatis. Quae quidem mea cohortatio ne tibi inanis aut sine causa suscepta videatur, illa me ratio movit, ut te ex nostris eventis communibus admonendum putarem, ut considerares in omni reliqua vita quibus crederes, quos caveres. 10. Quod scribis te velle scire qui sit rei publicae status, summa dissensio est, sed contentio dispar. Nam [¶]qui plus opibus, armis, potentia valent, profecisse tantum mihi videntur [¶]stultitia et inconstantia adversariorum, ut etiam auctoritate iam plus valerent. Itaque perpauca adversantibus omnia, quae ne per populum quidem sine seditione se adsequi arbitrabantur, per senatum consecuti sunt: nam et stipendium Caesari decretum est et decem legati et ne lege Sempronia succederetur facile perfectum est. Quod eo ad te brevius scribo, quia me status hic rei publicae non delectat: scribo tamen, ut te admo-
neam, quod ipse litteris omnibus a pueritia deditus experiendo tamen magis quam discendo cognovi, *id ut* tu tuis rebus integris discas, neque salutis nostrae rationem habendam nobis esse sine dignitate neque dignitatis sine salute. 11. Quod mihi de filia et de Crassipede gratularis, agnosco humanitatem tuam, speroque et opto nobis hanc coniunctionem voluptati fore. Lentulum nostrum eximia spe summae virtutis adolescentem cum ceteris artibus, quibus studuisti semper ipse, tum in primis imitatione tui fac erudias: nulla enim erit hac praestantior disciplina: quem nos, et quia tuus et quia te dignus est filius et quia nos diligit semperque dilexit, in primis amamus carumque habemus.

pro Balb., 61, *voluimus quaedam, contendimus, experti sumus: obtenta non sunt*, remarks, that 'in spite of the traditional objection to translating *obtineo* by *obtain*, it will be seen that this passage admits, and almost requires, such a rendering.' Many passages 'admit' the rendering of *obtinere* by *obtain*, but is there a single passage in which 'make good,' 'carry out,' would not more truly represent the sense of the word than 'obtain'? And do not the words, in the passage commented on by Mr. Reid, mean, 'we failed to hold them'?

ratio . . . ut putarem] 'the consideration which moved me [thus to exhort] was my feeling that you ought to be warned by the incidents which your career and mine have had in common, to be careful whom to trust, and whom to be wary of.' *Illa ratio . . . ut putarem* = 'this consideration, viz. my thinking.'

10. *contentio dispar*] 'the energy dis-

played on each side is very different,' i.e. the optimates are supine. The context seems to show that this is the meaning of the words, not 'the dispute is between parties unequally matched,' which rendering, indeed, seems hardly to lie in the words.

Sempronia] the law of C. Gracchus, which required that the Senate should name the provinces to be governed by the consuls before the consuls were elected. Hence, if the Senate now assigned the Gauls to the consuls, who should be elected for 55 B.C., this would be tantamount to Caesar's recall. In this case the law of Gracchus was not dispensed with, but in assigning proconsular governments, according to its provisions, to the consuls for 55, the Senate were induced not to name the Gaulish provinces.

11. *Crassipede*] See Att. iv. 5, 3

Lentulus] the son of the Lentulus to whom this letter is addressed.

CXV. TO Q. VALERIUS ORCA, PROCONSUL IN AFRICA
(FAM. XIII. 6a).

ROME, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. Valerio P. Cuspii amicos omnes commendat, in primus L. Iulium.

M. CICERO Q. VALERIO Q. F. ORCAE PROCOS.

I. S. V. B. E. V. Credo te memoria tenere me et coram P. Cuspio tecum locutum esse, cum te prosequeretur paludatum, et item postea pluribus verbis tecum egisse, ut quoscumque tibi eius necessarios commendarem, haberes eos in numero meorum necessariorum. Id tu pro tua summa erga me benevolentia perpetuaque observantia mihi liberalissime atque humanissime recepisti. 2. Cuspius, homo in omnes suos officiosissimus, mirifice quosdam homines ex ista provincia tuetur et diligit, propterea quod fuit in Africa bis, cum maximis societatis negotiis praeesset. Itaque hoc eius officium, quod adhibetur erga illos, ego mea facultate et gratia soleo quantum possum adiuvere. Qua re Cuspiatorum omnium commendationis causam hac tibi epistola exponendam putavi. Reliquis epistolis tantum faciam, ut notam apponam eam, quae mihi tecum convenit, et simul significem de numero esse Cuspii amicorum. 3. Sed hanc commendationem, quam his litteris consignare volui,

1. Q. Valerius Orca held the praetorship, and was now governor of Africa. It is inferred by Man. from the words *vellem expertus esses*, § 4, that Valerius had recently arrived at his province. This, too, is borne out by the formal mode of address (*si vales bene est : valeo*, see vol. I², p. 49). This would probably be the first letter written by Cicero to Valerius. In subsequent letters to him, Cicero drops the ceremonious preamble.

coram P. Cuspio] This is the only passage in Cicero (if the text is sound, and it seems hard to correct it) where *coram* is a preposition; for the passage in

Pis. 12, *mihi vero ipsi coram genero meo quae dicere ausus es*, is simply and probably emended by Mr. Reid (on Am. 3), who inserts *et* before *genero*. *Coram* is almost always an adverb throughout Republican and Augustan Latin, and is used *commonly* as a preposition only by Tacitus. It is possible that here Cicero wrote *me et coram cum P. Cuspio et tecum locutum esse*, in which case *coram* would, of course, be an adverb, as usual.

paludatum] It was customary for a magistrate to wear the *paludamentum* when proceeding to his province.

2. *societatis*] *sc.* publicanorum.

scito esse omnium gravissimam. Nam P. Cuspius singulari studio contendit a me, ut tibi quam diligentissime L. Iulium commendarem. Eius ego studio vix videor mihi satis facere posse, si utar verbis iis, quibus, cum diligentissime quid agimus, uti solemus. Nova quaedam postulat et putat me eius generis artificium quoddam tenere. Ei ego pollicitus sum me ex intima nostra arte deprompturum mirificum genus commendationis. Id quoniam adsequi non possum, tu re velim efficias, ut ille genere mearum litterarum incredibile quiddam perfectum arbitretur. 4. Id facies, si omne genus liberalitatis, quod et ab humanitate et potestate tua proficisci poterit, non modo re, sed etiam verbis, vultu denique exprompseris: quae quantum in provincia valeant, vellem expertus esses, sed tamen suspicor. . . . Ipsum hominem, quem tibi commendo, perdignum esse tua amicitia, non solum, quia mihi Cuspius dicit, credo, tametsi id satis esse debebat, sed quia novi eius iudicium in hominibus et amicis deligendis. 5. Harum litterarum vis quanta fuerit propediem iudicabo tibi, ut confido, gratias agam. Ego, quae te velle quaeque ad te pertinere arbitror, omnia studiose diligenterque curabo. Cura ut valeas.

Cuspiatorum] 'the friends of Cuspius.' He says he is bound to give them all letters of recommendation.

notam apponam] Cicero had arranged with Valerius, before his departure, that when he was really sincere in his recommendations, he should affix a certain mark on his letter to indicate to Valerius the sincerity of his opinion. On the question of the honourableness of this and similar acts of Cicero, see vol. I². Introd. pp. 42, ff.

3. *eius generis artificium quoddam tenere*] 'that I am a master of this kind of literature.'

genere] 'that he may conceive that

some miracle has been worked by the nature of my letter,' that is, by 'a letter of this kind from me.' Cp. *genus scriptorum tuorum*, Fam. v. 12, 1 (Ep. lix.).

4. *vultu denique*] See on Q. Fr. i. 1, 1 (Ep. xxx.).

expertus esses] This would be his *first experiment* of his influence, as he had just arrived.

suspicio] sc. *multum hanc valere*. The verb *suspicio* is often used of an agreeable or favourable surmise. Cicero politely intimates that the *experiment* to which he refers is certain to show the strength of the new governor's influence.

CXVI. TO Q. VALERIUS ORCA, IN AFRICA (FAM. XIII. 6b).

ROME, A. U. C. 698 ; B. C. 56 ; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. Valerio P. Cornelium commendat.

M. CICERO Q. VALERIO Q. F. ORCAE PROCOS.

P. Cornelius, qui tibi litteras *has* dedit, est mihi a P. Cuspio commendatus, cuius causa quanto opere cuperem deberemque profecto ex me facile cognosti. Vehementer te rogo, ut cures, ut ex hac commendatione mihi Cuspius quam maximas quam primum quam saepissime gratias agat. Vale.

CXVII. TO QUINTUS CICERO, ON HIS JOURNEY TO ROME FROM SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 6).

ROME, A. U. C. 698 ; B. C. 56 ; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero scribit de supplicatione A. Gabinio negata et suo fratris videndi desiderio.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. O litteras mihi tuas iucundissimas, expectatas ac primo quidem cum desiderio, nunc vero etiam cum timore! Atque has scito litteras me solas accepisse post illas, quas tuus nauta attulit, Olbia datas. Sed cetera, ut scribis, praesenti sermoni reserventur.

Cuius . . . causa cuperem] The dative is more usual. Cp. *Fundanio . . . cupio*, Q. Fr. i. 2, 10; *malo . . . Asiae*, Att. ii. 16, 41; *cui qui nolunt*, Fam. i. 1, 3.

1. *cum timore*] Cicero had begun to fear that his brother had met with some mishap on his journey.

Hoc tamen non queo differre. Id. Maiis senatus frequens divinus fuit in supplicatione Gabinio deneganda. Adiurat Procilius hoc nemini accidisse. Foris valde plauditur. Mihi cum sua sponte iucundum tum iucundius, quod me absente. Etenim εἰλικρινές iudicium sine oppugnatione, sine gratia nostra erat. 2. Ante quod Idibus et postridie fuerat dictum de agro Campano actum iri, non est actum. In hac causa mihi aqua haeret. Sed plura quam constitueram: coram enim. Vale, mi optime et optatissime frater, et advola. Idem te pueri nostri rogant; illud scilicet: cenabis, cum veneris.

divinus fuit] 'acted splendidly in refusing a *supplicatio* to Gabinius.' Gabinius, governor of Syria, had applied to the Senate to give him a *supplicatio* for his success in Palestine against Aristobulus and his son Alexander. The use of *divinitus*, = 'splendidly,' has been already noticed.

Procilius] a tribune.
hoc nemini acc.] 'never was anyone so snubbed.'

foris] i. e. *a populo*.
sua sponte] *sua sponte* is often applied to things as well as persons, as in 2 Verr. i. 108.

quod me absente] *sc.* actum est.
εἰλικρινές] 'unbiased.'
2. *Ante quod*] Cicero had carried a *Scutum* on the nones of April that the question of the disposal of the Campanian land should be brought before the Senate on the ides of May. He here says: 'the previous arrangement for the discussion of the question of the Campanian land, on May 13 and 14, fell through.' *Ante* for *Antii* of the mss is the reading of Th. Mommsen. It is plain from the last letter written to Quintus, and from other considerations, that Cicero must now have been in Rome. *Me absente* means only absence from the meeting of the Senate. This proposal of Cicero, which met the approval of the Senate on April 5, that the Senate should, on May 15, discuss the legality of the allotment of the Campanian domain under the agrarian laws of 695 (59), was,

in reality, a blow aimed at Caesar, and had for its object the repeal of the Caesarean legislation of 698 (56). When Cicero withdrew his motion on the Campanian domain, or allowed it to fall through (as he tells us here), he took a step of far greater moment than his casual mention of it here would seem to indicate. It may be called his first overt act against the *optimates* and in support of the triumvirs.

aqua haeret] 'I am in a fix.' The metaphor is taken from running water meeting with an obstacle. The phrase is not noticed in L. & S. Cicero's difficulty was whether he should support the sale of the lands, or their division among the veterans of Pompeius.

plura] *sc.* scripsi.
pueri nostri] 'your son and mine.'
scilicet] Here we have, I think, a case of the ante-classical usage (found also in Sallust) whereby *scilicet* is regarded as = *scire licet*, and so governs an object. This is very common in Plautus, and is another of the coincidences between the language of Cicero's letters and of the comic stage. So *videlicet datas*, for comment on which passage see vol. I², p. 62. This usage of Cicero in his letters is not recognized by the grammars and dictionaries. Yet so many are the other coincidences, surely we may add this one. *Videlicet* governs an object in post-class. Latin. The meaning is, 'This *va sans dire*: you dine with me on your arrival.'

LETTERS OF THE FOURTEENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. CXVIII.-CXXXI.

A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

COSS. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

IN this year a law proposed by C. Trebonius gave to the consuls the government of Spain and Syria for five years; and another added five years to Caesar's tenure of Gaul. Crassus carried a law against *Sodalicia*. These were political clubs whereby the optimates seem to have very adroitly carried out their own views. One is surprised to find in the curule offices for the last two years men distinctly opposed to the triumvirs. This year Pompeius opened his theatre with spectacles of unusual magnificence. This was the occasion of a very clever letter from Cicero to Marius, which must, however, be regarded rather as a rhetorical exercise than as a genuine expression of opinion as to the morality of such public entertainments. This year was signalized by the speeches in *L. Pisonem* and *pro L. Caninio Gallo*; by the charming treatise in three books, entitled *De Oratore*; and by the poem *De temporibus suis*, in three books.

CXVIII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 8b).

TUSCULANUM (?), A. U. C. 699 (possibly in the end of 698, as Wesenberg thinks); B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

De lege Trebonia, de Domitii calamitate et misera rei publ. condicione, de Natta, de Fabio Lusco. In rebus publicis maiore prudentia sibi sane opus esse scribit de iisque cotidie ab Attico certior fieri cupit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Apenas vix discesserat, cum epistola. Quid ais? putasne fore ut legem non ferat? Dic, oro te, clarius: vix enim mihi exaudisse videor. Verum statim fac ut sciam, si modo *tibi* est commodum. Ludis quidem quoniam dies est additus, eo etiam melius hic eum diem cum Dionysio conteremus. 2. De Trebonio prorsus tibi adsentior. De Domitio.

Σύκω, μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, σῦκον οὐδὲ ἐν
οὕτως ὅμοιον γέγονεν,

quam est ista *περίστασις* nostrae, vel quod ab iisdem vel quod praeter opinionem vel quod viri boni nusquam. Unum dissimile, quod huic merito. Nam de ipso casu nescio an illud melius.

1. *Apenas*] a letter-carrier.
epistola] *sc.* a te venit.

legem] There are no data for discovering what *lex* is referred to.

dic, oro, clarius] This phrase, like *ain' tu*, signifies that the intelligence is incredible: 'can I believe my ears?'

exaudisse] 'caught the words,' used in just the same sense in Att. i. xiv. 4. (Ep. xx.).

ludis] *sc.* gladiatoriiis.

hic] Probably the *Tusculanum* is referred to, as he expects letters from Att. *quotidie*, § 4, Boot.

2. *adsentior*] that he will be tribune.

Domitio] Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was a candidate for the consulship. Cicero ascribes his failure to the influence of

the triumvirs. 'His case,' he says, 'is as like mine as two peas: the same influences brought about my exile and his defeat: the issue was in both cases unexpected; and the *optimates*, in both cases, were not to be found when wanted. The only point of dissimilarity was that Domitius tempted his fate (he had declared that he would deprive Caesar of his army, if elected). Perhaps his case was even harder than mine, that he who was born to the consulate, so to speak, should fail to obtain it, and that he should fail with no (plebeian) candidate, or at most one, in the field against him.'

οὐδὲ ἐν] when οὐδὲν takes this emphatic form it is never elided, that is, οὐδ' ἐν is not found.

x Quid enim hoc miserius quam eum, qui tot annos quot habet designatus consul fuerit, fieri consulem non posse? praesertim cum aut solus aut certe non plus quam cum altero petat. Si vero id est, quod nescio an sit, ut non minus longas iam in codicillorum fastis futurorum consulum paginulas habeat quam factorum, quid illo miserius nisi res publica? in qua ne speratur quidem melius quidquam. 3. De Natta ex tuis primum scivi litteris: oderam hominem. De poemate quod quaeris, quid, si cupiat effugere? quid? sinas? De Fabio Lusco quod eram exorsus, homo peramans semper nostri fuit, nec mihi umquam odio. Satis enim acutus et permodestus ac bonae frugis. Eum, quia non videbam, abesse putabam: audiavi ex Gavio hoc Firmano Romae esse hominem et fuisse adsidium. Percussit animum. Dices, tantulane causa? Permulta ad me detulerat non dubia de Firmanis fratribus. Quid

hoc miserius, quam] *Hoc* is ablative neuter. It is used pleonastically here before *quam*. Cp. *quo nihil turpius quam* . . . dicere, Fin. i. 19; *quid hoc fieri turpius potest quam*, De Or. i. 169. This pleonasm is also common in Plautus: cp. Mil. Glor. 22:—

Periurorum *hoc* hominem si quis viderit,
Aut gloriarum plenior *quam illic est*.

tot annos] He is said to have been consul-elect all his life, because his election in his proper year was regarded as certain.

solus . . . petat] Dom. was the only plebeian candidate except Pompeius (Crassus being a patrician); but Cicero hesitates whether he can rightly call Pompeius a candidate at all, since he was not elected, but appointed colleague of Crassus after an *interregnum*. By the Licinian constitution one of the consuls was necessarily a plebeian. Others think that Pompeius is not here referred to, but some plebeian rival of whom no further mention is made, possibly C. Memmius or P. Nigidius Figulus, who were colleagues of Domitius in the praetorship.

Si vero] 'But if it is true—and I am not sure that it is not—that Pompeius has, in the archives of his pocket-book, as long lists of future as of past consuls, then what is more sad than his (Domitius') condition, except that of the Republic, which does not leave room even for hope

of improvement?' *Codicillorum* is the *gen. epexegeticus* (Draeger. Hist. Synt. i. 466, 467), 'the state archives which are now one and the same as the pocket-book of Pompeius,' like *mercedem gloriae*, 'the reward which consists in being famous,' Tusc. i. 15. Nearly the same is the *gen. in pestes hominum*, Fam. v. 8, 2.

3. *Natta*] *Natta* was the pontifex under whom the *consecratio* of the site of Cicero's house by Clodius was carried out.

poemate] Probably the poem *De temporibus suis*, to which he refers in Fam. i. 9, 23.

effugere] 'to see the light.'

quod eram exorsus] 'to recur to what I began to tell you' (in another letter).

bonae frugis] This is a contemptuous kind of praise, as we learn from Att. vii. 4, 1, where he says that to use such words of a man is like giving a character to a freedman.

Gavio] Perhaps the person called *P. Clodii Canis*, Att. vi. 3, 6.

fuisse] 'has been at Rome all along.'

percussit] 'made a deep impression on me.'

Firmanis fratribus] These may be the Gavius just mentioned and his brother. They seem to have been ill-disposed to Cicero. Fabius had disclosed to Cicero some hostile act on their part. Hence Cicero looks on Fabius as a well-wisher, and is surprised that he failed in the customary *salutatio*.

sit, quod se a me remorit, si modo removit, ignoro. 4. De eo, quod me mones, ut et πολιτικῶς me geram et τὴν ἕξω γραμμὴν teneam, ita faciam. Sed opus est maiore prudentia, quam a te, ut soleo, petam. Tu velim ex Fabio, si quem habes aditum, odorere et istum convivam tuum degustes et ad me de his rebus et de omnibus cotidie scribas. Ubi nihil erit quod scribas, id ipsum scribito. Cura ut valeas.

remorit] Ern. for *removit* of the mss. The subjunctive seems required by the order of the words, though Cicero might well have written, *quod se a me removit, si modo removit, quid sit ignoro*.

τὴν ἕξω γραμμὴν] The reading of M is ΕΩ; and to this also the reading of I points. There is no authority for ΕΩ as against ἕξω, except Bosius, who says he found Ω in Y. As we now know that there was no such ms, we may dismiss his statement. All edd. agree in explaining *ut τὴν ἕξω γραμμὴν teneam*, 'that I should hold a middle course.' But how is this to be got out of the words? Man. long ago saw that the meaning of the passage required ἕξω. The metaphor is from a chariot race: *γραμμὴ* is the starting-post. He who has the inner station has the best chance of making a brilliant race, if he knows how, *metam fervidis evitare rotis*; but this position requires great skill, or else the charioteer will run foul of the *metae*. To take the ἕξω *γραμμὴν* was the

part of prudence. If, then, the meaning is, *ut medium teneam* (Boot.), *die Mittelinie zu halten* (Wieland), we must read ἕξω, which stands on the same footing, as regards ms authority, as ἕσω. If we read ἕσω, we must suppose Cicero to mean, 'I will take the dangerous but brilliant course.' This would mean, 'I will be an unflinching supporter of the *optimates*,' and this we can hardly believe that Cicero here says. Could this be a reference to τὸν ἀπὸ γραμμῆς κινεῖν λίθον, a proverb (found Theocr. vi. 18, and elsewhere), meaning I will take the last desperate move,' 'I will try my last chance,' that is, 'I will throw myself into the cause of the triumvirs'?

convivam] Perhaps the Epicurean Saufeius.

id ipsum] *se. nihil esse*. Cp. Att. vi. 3, 10, *litteras mitte quam primum; si nihil, nihil fieri; vel per tabellarium*, 'if there is no news write to say so, or even send a verbal message.'

CXIX. TO P. LENTULUS, PROCONS. (FAM. I. 8).

ROME, A. U. C. 699 ; B. C. 55 ; AET. CIC. 51.

De statu rei publicae questus, P. Lentulum consolatur de spe exigua causae regiae aut paene fracta : certiore spem supplicationis ostendit.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. De omnibus rebus, quae ad te pertinent quid actum, quid constitutum sit, quid Pompeius susceperit optime ex M. Plautio cognosces, qui non solum interfuit his rebus, sed etiam praefuit neque ullum officium erga te hominis amantissimi, prudentissimi, diligentissimi praetermisit. Ex eodem de toto statu rerum communium cognosces, quae quales sint non facile est scribere. Sunt quidem certe in amicorum nostrorum potestate atque ita, ut nullam mutationem umquam hac hominum aetate habitura res esse videatur. 2. Ego quidem, ut debeo et ut tute mihi praecepisti et ut me pietas utilitasque cogit, me ad eius rationes adiungo, quem tu in meis rationibus tibi esse adiungendum putasti. Sed te non praeterit quam sit difficile sensum in re publica praesertim rectum et confirmatum deponere. Verum tamen ipse me conformo ad eius voluntatem, a quo honeste dissentire non possum : neque id facio, ut forsitan quibusdam videar, simulatione : tantum enim animi inductio et mehercule amor erga Pompeium apud me valet, ut, quae illi utilia sunt et quae ille vult, ea mihi omnia iam et recta et vera videantur. Neque, ut ego arbitror, errarent ne adversarii quidem eius, si, cum pares esse non possent, pugnare desisterent. 3. Me quidem etiam illa res consolatur, quod ego is sum cui vel maxime concedant omnes, ut vel ea defendam, quae Pompeius velit, vel taceam vel etiam, id quod mihi maxime libet, ad nostra me studia referam

1. *amicorum*] the triumvirs.2. *in meis rat.*] when my return from exile was in question.*possent*] 'feeling themselves to be no match for him ;' such is the force of the*imperf. subjunct.*3. *ad nostra me studia . . . litterarum*] This is the course which in the next letter, Q. Fr. ii. 7, 2, he indicates by the words *ad nostrum Iovem revertamur*.

litterarum: quod profecto faciam, si mihi per eiusdem amicitiam licebit. Quae enim proposita fuerant nobis, cum et honoribus amplissimis et laboribus maximis perfuncti essemus, dignitas in sentiis dicendis, libertas in re publica capessenda, ea sublata tota sunt, nec mihi magis quam omnibus. Nam aut adsentiendum] ^{7. 4} est nulla cum gravitate paucis aut frustra dissentiendum. 4. Haec ego ad te ob eam causam maxime scribo, ut iam de tua quoque ratione meditare. Commutata tota ratio est senatus, iudiciorum, rei totius publicae, Otium nobis exoptandum est: quod ii, qui potiuntur rerum, praestaturi videntur, si quidam homines patientius eorum potentiam ferre potuerint. Dignitatem quidem illam consularem fortis et constantis senatoris nihil est quod cogitemus: amissa culpa est eorum, qui a senatu et ordinem coniunctissimum et hominem clarissimum abalienarunt. 5. Sed ut ad ea quae coniunctiora rebus tuis sunt, revertar, Pompeium tibi valde amicum esse cognovi, et eo tu consule, quantum ego perspicio, omnia quae voles obtinebis: quibus in rebus me sibi ille adfixum habebit neque a me ulla res quae ad te pertineat neglegetur. Neque enim verebor ne sim ei molestus, cui iucundum erit etiam propter se ipsum, cum me esse gratum videbit. 6. Tu velim tibi ita persuadeas, nullam rem esse minimam, quae ad te pertineat, quae mihi non carior sit quam meae res omnes. Idque cum sentiam, sedulitate mihimet ipse satis facere possum, re quidem ipsa ideo mihi non satis facio, quod nullam partem tuorum meritorum non modo referenda, sed ne cogitanda quidem gratia consequi possum. 7. Rem te valde bene gessisse rumor erat. Expectabantur litterae tuae, de quibus eramus iam cum Pompeio locuti: quae si erunt adlatae, nostrum studium exstabit in conveniendis magistratibus et senatoribus: ceteraque, quae ad te pertinebunt, cum etiam plus contenderimus quam possumus, minus tamen faciemus quam debemus.

eiusdem] objective gen., 'my friendship for the same.'

4. *quidam*] certain optimates, esp. Cato, Bibulus, Domitius.

ordinem] sc. *equestrem*. How Cato alienated the knights from the Senate is told in Att. i. 17 and 18.

hominem] Pompeius, who was offended chiefly by Lucullus, Cato, and Metellus

Celer.

6. *quod nullam partem*] 'not even in feelings of gratitude, much less in acts of gratitude, can I come up to what you deserve from me in any degree.'

7. *Rem gessisse*] against the robber-tribes in Cilicia. Lentulus was desirous of obtaining the honour of a *supplicatio* for these successes.

CXX. TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. II. 7 (9))

ROME, A. U. C. 699 ; B. C. 55 ; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero librum de temporibus suis fratri placuisse gaudet, eius se negotium Pompeio commendasse et de ambitu senatus consultum in Afranii sententiam factum esse scribit.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM

1. Placitum tibi esse librum meum suspicabar: tam valde placuisse quam scribis valde gaudeo. Quod me admones de nostra Urania suadesque, ut meminerim Iovis orationem, quae est in extremo illo libro, ego vero memini et illa omnia mihi magis scripsi quam ceteris. 2. Sed tamen postridie, quam tu es profectus, multa nocte cum Vibullio veni ad Pompeium, cumque ego egissem

This letter, written in Feb., comes after Fam. i. 8, written in Jan., and before Att. iv. 10, 9, written in the end of April. Yet Sch. prints it *after* Att. 10 and 9. Billerb. does the same; but for *id Febr.* he reads *id Mai.* in § 3.

1. *librum meum*] *de temporibus suis*, referred to in last letter. This was the poem which contained the celebrated verses—

‘Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi’;

and the still more celebrated

‘O fortunatam natam me consule Romam.’

nostra Urania] This is the brilliant conjecture of Mal. for the unmeaning *non curantia* of M. While the words *librum meum* refer to the poem *De temporibus suis*, the words *nostra Urania* refer to a quite different poem—the poem *De consulatu suo*, of which three verses are quoted by Cicero in Att. ii. 3, 3. But the passage there quoted cannot be the passage here alluded to. The passage quoted in Att. ii. 3, 3 was the conclusion of the *third* book of his poem *on his consulate*, and was put in the mouth of Caliope (see note *ad loc.*); now the passage here referred to is spoken by Urania, and we learn from *de Div.* i. 17, that Urania was the speaker of the *second* book.

This, then, is very important, for if we supposed the allusion here to be to the passage quoted in Ep. xxix., the meaning of this passage would be, ‘you remind me of the verses, *interea cursus quos prima a parte iuventae*, &c. Yes, I remember them well, and I mean to follow their precept, and adhere to my old *optimate principles and party*.’ But such is by no means what Cicero here wishes to intimate. We find that the second book of the poem *De cons. suo* (which is for the most part put into the mouth of Urania) ends with a speech of Juppiter (see *Fragmenta poematum Ciceronis*, Nobbe, p. 1335, the last words of which are—

Tu tamen anxiferas curas requiete relaxa,
Quod patriae voces studiis nobisque sacraſti.

In these and the foregoing verses, Juppiter bids Cicero leave the troubled sphere of politics, and devote himself to forensic and literary labours. This is the passage to which Cicero here refers. The whole meaning may be thus conveyed: ‘I am glad you like the poem *De temporibus*. But you remind me of the precept of another poem of mine (the poem *De consulatu*, second book), which tells me to give up politics, and devote myself to oratory and literature. I remember the precept well. It was more to confirm myself than to amuse others I wrote the whole

de istis operibus atque inscriptionibus, per mihi benigne respondit : magnam spem attulit : cum Crasso se dixit loqui velle, mihi que ut idem facerem suasit. Crassum consulem ex senatu domum reduxi : suscepit rem dixitque esse quod Clodius hoc tempore cuperet per se et per Pompeium consequi : putare se, si ego eum non impedirem, posse me adipisci sine contentione quod vellem. Totum ei negotium permisi meque in eius potestate dixi fore. Interfuit huic sermoni P. Crassus adolescens, nostri, ut scis, studiosissimus, Illud autem, quod cupit Clodius, est legatio aliqua—si minus per senatum, per populum—libera aut Byzantium aut ad Brogitarum aut utrumque. Plena res nummorum. Quod ego non nimium laboro, etiam si minus adsequor quod volo. Pompeius tamen cum Crasso locutus est. Videntur negotium suscepisse. Si perficiunt, optime : si minus, ad nostrum Iovem revertamur. 3. A. d. III. Id. Febr. senatus consultum est factum de ambitu in Afranii sententiam, contra quam ego dixeram, cum tu adesses. Sed magno cum

thing. I will give up politics. Yet, I must tell you, I called on Pompeius the very day after you left' He called on Pompeius to ask a favour for Quintus. He writes below (§ 2), *si perficiunt, optime : si minus, ad nostrum Iovem revertamur*, that is, 'if I find my political influence unavailable in your interest, then I will indeed follow the precept of Jove, which I have violated for your sake. I have strayed once more into the sphere of politics on an errand for you ; if I fail, I shall never enter it again.'

operibus] We learn from Q. Fr. iii. 1, 14, that Cicero afterwards erected a statue of his brother under the temple of Tellus, containing probably an inscription recounting his merits and successes. This throws a light on the present passage. Quintus desired to have some record of himself in a public place in Rome. This could be done only by public consent. Pompeius assured Cicero that he might get rid of the opposition of Clodius by refraining from opposing the proposal to grant to Clodius a *libera legatio* to Brogitarus or Byzantium, or both. It is possible, indeed, that this passage refers to the building which Cicero had contracted to build for the State before his exile. This building is mentioned, Fam. i. 9, 15. But I agree with Sch. that the reference is the same as in Q. Fr. iii. 1, 14.

plena res] 'he may make a great haul

by it.' As tribune Clodius had restored certain Byzantine exiles ; and he had made Brogitarus (a Galatian, son-in-law of Deiotarus) priest of Cybele at Pessinus. Clodius was going to raise the money, for which he held bonds from the Byzantine exiles and Brogitarus.

non nimium laboro] 'I am not greatly concerned about his being allowed the official tour, even though I gain not my object (the carrying out of the wishes of Quintus about the temple of Tellus and the inscription). However, Pompeius has had an interview with Crassus. I fancy they have taken on themselves the fulfilment of your wishes. If so, well, excellent well. If not, let me betake me to the counsel of Jove (and abandon politics).'

3. *de ambitu*] Pompeius and Crassus were desirous of securing the election to the praetorship of the infamous P. Vatinius, and the defeat of the illustrious M. Porcius Cato (Uticensis).

Afranii sententiam] This seems to have been a motion actually exempting the newly-elected praetors from the penalties of bribery. Some of the senators wished to add a rider that the praetors should be elected only on condition that for sixty days after their election they should be designate, and thus retain their private station (and could therefore be proceeded against by law) ; but the consuls refused to put this amendment. Now, if they

gemitu senatus consules non sunt persecuti eorum sententias, qui Afranio cum essent adsensi, addiderunt, ut praetores ita crearentur, ut dies LX. privati essent. Eo die Catonem plane repudiarunt.

Tyranny

Quid multa? tenent omnia, idque ita omnes intellegere volunt.

had been tried, their condemnation would have been certain, and Cato would have been elected. So the consuls, in rejecting the rider about sixty days, in effect there and then rejected Cato. All this high-handed action seems well-nigh incredible, and this Cicero feels himself. But he explains their proceedings by saying, 'they have unlimited power, and wish it to be generally understood that it is so.' *Contra*, which was inserted by Sch., seems right; if it be omitted, we must understand *quam ego dixeram* to mean, 'which I had described to you.' In either case the words *cum tu adesses* show that Cicero supposed Atticus to know the exact form of Afranius' *sententia*. This is unfortunate for us; it would have been interesting to have had the very terms of this daring motion. Its aim, however, is clear from the narrative of Plutarch in his Cato; but Plutarch seems to have transposed the two high-handed acts of the consuls. He says: *πρῶτον μὲν . . . ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς αἰρεθέντας στρατηγούς εὐθὺς ἄρχειν, καὶ μὴ διαλιπόντας τὸν νόμιμον χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ δίκαι τοῖς δεκάσασι τὸν δῆμον ἦσαν· ἔπειτα διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ δίδοναι [δίκας] ἀνυπεύθυνον κατασκευάσαντες ὑπηρέτας αὐτῶν καὶ φίλους ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν προσήγον, Cat. Min. 42.* In due course the praetors should have been designated in July; and thus they would have been five months or more *privati* before they entered on their office. But in this case the proceedings were of a quite abnormal character. The elections had

been so long postponed that now, in February, the election for the current year was beginning to be discussed. There could be no *designatio* at all. Hence, *ut praetores ita crearentur ut dies LX privati essent*. The authors of the amendment on Afranius' motion, which the consuls shelved, wished to meet the exceptional case by an exceptional measure. As there was no time for *designatio*, the praetors elected would have official position at once. They proposed that during the first two months of their office the praetors should stand in the same position, as they would, in the regular course of things, have held for more than five months between their designation and their actual entry into office.

As a matter of fact it came to an election at once; and the consuls would have failed even there had not the *obnuntiatio* been put in force. By thus securing a temporary delay, the consuls were able to work the political machine in such a way as to ensure the return of Vatinius. The account which Plutarch gives of this transaction is: *ἐξαίφνης ὁ Πομπήϊος βροντῆς ἀκηκοέναι ψευδάμενος αἰσχίστα διέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰθισμένων ἀφοσιοῦσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ μηδὲν ἐπικυροῦν διοσημίας γενομένης, Cat. Min. 42.* For another instance, about this time, of great irregularities, cf. Q. Fr. ii. 2, 2, where the elections for the aediles did not take place till towards the end of January. See also Mommsen, St. R. i. 565, note 3.

ita] sc. ita esse.

CXXI. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 10).

CUMANUM, A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

De rumore qui fuerit Puteolis Ptolemaeum esse in regno, de vita sua Puteolana, de rebus domesticis, quas Attico invisendas commendat, de Pompeii adventu in Cumanum suum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Puteolis magnus est rumor Ptolemaeum esse in regno. Si quid habes certius, velim scire. Ego hic pascor bibliotheca Fausti. Fortasse tu putaras his rebus Puteolanis et Lucrinensibus. Ne ista quidem desunt. Sed mehercule ut a ceteris oblectationibus deseror voluptatum propter rem publicam, sic litteris sustentor et recreor maloque in illa tua sedecula, quam habes sub imagine Aristotelis, sedere quam in istorum sella curuli tecumque apud te ambulare quam cum] eo, quocum video esse ambulandum. Sed de illa ambulatione fors viderit aut si qui est qui curet deus.

2. Nostram ambulationem et Laconicum, eaque, quae Cyrea sint,

1. *Ptolemaeum esse in regno*] 'that Ptolemy has been restored.' See the earlier letters of 698. He had ultimately been restored by Gabinius, who acted on his own authority.

Fausti] son of Sulla the dictator. Sulla had brought to Rome a large number of books from Athens and other cities of Greece and Asia: Plut. Sull. 26.

his rebus] Cicero uses *his rebus* in Att. xii. 9 to signify natural scenery, cetera noli putare amabiliora fieri posse villa litore prospectu maris tum *his rebus omnibus*, 'the whole scene.' This may be the meaning of the words here, 'I am feasting my eyes on the scenery of Puteoli and the Lucrine lake.' *His rebus* is generally taken to mean 'the fare,' 'good things,' which the district supplies, that is, oysters. Hor. says:—

Bonisque

Rebus agit laetum convivam,

Sat. ii. 6, 110. The word *pascor*, perhaps,

supports the latter view, and so does the clause *ne ista quidem desunt*. Yet it is remarkable that *his rebus* should be found meaning 'natural scenery' in another passage. Madv. would read *ostreis* for *his rebus*.

obl. vol.] the gen. *epexegeticus*, see last letter, § 2, 'enjoyment (consisting) of material pleasures.' Cp. *a mente deserar*, Att. iii. 15, 2 (Ep. lxxiii.).

istorum] Pompeius and Crassus.

ambulatione] metaphorical 'the tenor of my political path.' In the next sentence the same word is used in its literal meaning of a *promenade* or artificial colonnade for walking, sometimes roofed and sometimes open to the air.

2. *Laconicum*] a *sudatorium* or 'Turkish bath,' said by Vitruvius to have been so called because the *sudatorium* was first used by the Lacedaemonians.

Cyrea] 'in the province of Cyrus, the architect.'

velim, eum poterit, invisas et urgeas Philotimum, ut properet, ut possim tibi aliquid in eo genere respondere. Pompeius in Cumanum Parilibus venit: misit ad me statim qui salutem nuntiaret. Ad eum postridie mane vadebam, cum haec scripsi.

CXXII. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 9).

CUMANUM, A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero ab Attico de censura a tribunis impedita certior fieri cupit, de Pompeo, quocum una fuerit, de Luceio, de Q. fratre, de itinere suo de Cumano in Pompeianum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Sane velim scire num censum impediunt tribuni diebus vitiandis—est enim hic rumor—totaque de censura quid agant, quid cogitent. Nos hic cum Pompeo fuimus. Multa mecum de re publica, sane sibi displicens, ut loquebatur—sic est enim in hoc homine dicendum—, Syriam spernens, Hispaniam iactans: hic

cum poterit] sc. *fieri*. In Cic. Epp. *potest* very often = *fieri potest*, as has often been pointed out. This being so, there is no conceivable reason why *poterit* should not = *fieri poterit*. Yet *poterit* of the mss has here been corrected to *poteris* with one accord by the editors, who do not think of changing *potest* (= *fieri potest*) to *potes* in the many passages where such an usage is found. See note on Fam. i. 2, 4 (Ep. xcvi.).

respondere] ‘to match you in this branch of domestic architecture.’ This sense of the word is often found in the comic poets, where *par pari respondere* means ‘to give tit for tat.’ So also in Cic. Att. xvi. 7, 6, Atticus is quoted as writing *ut par pari respondeatur*.

Cumanum] His own Cuman villa, near Cicero’s.

vadebam] = *iturus eram*. Cp. *paucis diebus habebam* (= *habiturus eram*) *certos homines*, Att. v. 17, 1; *Quinto . . . dabam . . . me Laodiceam recipiebam*, Att. v. 20, 5.

1. *censum*] the taking of the census by the newly-elected censors.

vitiandis] i. e. *obnuntiando eximendis* rendering them disqualified for the transaction of public business by observing the heavens and announcing unfavourable omens.

totaque de censura] The *lex Clodia* which was afterwards repealed by Q. Scipio Metellus, consul, 702, seriously impaired the censorial power of *notatio*. It enacted that the refusal to allow an ex-magistrate to be adopted into the senate could only have force if the magistrate was formally accused before them and condemned. For the political significance of this law, see Lange, iii. 298. Cicero thought the tribunes might be disposed to follow up the attack of Clodius on the censorship.

S. spernens] ‘expressing his contempt of Syria (the province of Crassus), and extolling Spain’ (his own province). Thus is the passage explained by Boot and all

quoque, ut loquebatur, et, opinor, usquequaque, de hoc cum dicemus, sit hoc quasi καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδου. Tibi etiam gratias agebat, quod signa componenda suscepisses, in nos vero suavissime hercule est effusus. Venit etiam ad me in Cumanum. Etsi nihil minus velle mihi visus est quam Mesallam consulatum petere: de quo ipso si quid scis, velim scire. 2. Quod Luceio scribis te nostram gloriam commendaturum et aedificium nostrum quod crebro invisis, gratum. Quintus frater ad me scripsit se, quoniam Ciceronem suavissimum tecum haberes, ad te Nonis Maiis venturum. Ego me de Cumano movi ante diem v. Kal. Maias. Eo die Neapoli apud Paetum. Ante diem iv. Kal. Maias iens in Pompeianum bene mane haec scripsi.

CXXIII. TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. II. 8).

CUMANUM, A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero respondet ad epistolam Q. fratris, qua ille se metuere scripserat, ne fratrem litteris suis incommode interpellaret.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Tu metuis ne me interpelles? Primum, si in isto essem, tu

the edd. save Man., *iactans* being read for the obviously corrupt *laetans* of M. But Man. gives a quite different meaning to *iactans*, which he translates *ita exagitans quasi fastidiret*. This, I think, gives a far better sense to the passage. Pompeius wished to display an ostentatious indifference to provincial governorships, which others coveted so much. If *iactans* here means 'extolling,' the passage lacks all point. Now, undoubtedly, *iactare* can mean to 'run down,' 'depreciate,' as Prof. Palmer has shown on Hor. Sat. ii. 2, 47, where he rightly translates the Lucilian line—

O lapathe ut *iactare* nec es satis cognitus quis,

'O sorrel, how thou art *scorned*,' and aptly compares Plaut. Rud. ii. 3, 43—

Novi. Neptunus ita solet. Quamvis fastidiosus Aedilis est; si quae improbae sunt merces, *iactat* omnes.

This meaning of *iacto* is not recognized in

L. and S. But it is found even in Cic. in Fam. i. 5, 1; Div. in Caec. 45.

καὶ τόδε] Just as Phocylides was in the habit of prefixing to his gnomic verses 'this too is a gnome of Phocylides,' so when one speaks of Pompeius one must always add a sort of refrain, 'as he said,' for Cicero thinks that Pompeius often used his words only to conceal his thoughts.

componenda] the arrangement of the statues in the theatre of Pompeius, which was dedicated this year.

2. *commendaturum*] as a subject for eulogy.

Ciceronem] the son of Q. Cicero.

1. *in isto*] *in ista re*: sc. *occupatione impeditus*. This use of the neuter of the pronoun is colloquial, and is found often in the comic drama: *hoc* = *hac de causa*, Mil. Glor. 850, *istoc* = *propter istam rem*. 851.

Something like
this

scis quid sit interpellare? An te Ateius? ² Mehercule mihi docere videris istius generis humanitatem, qua quidem ego nihil utor abs te. Tu vero ut me et appelles et interpelles et obloquare et colloquare velim. Quid enim mihi suavius? Non mehercule quisquam *μουσοπάτακτος* libentius sua recentia poemata legit, quam ego te audio quacumque de re, publica privata, rustica urbana. Sed mea factum est insulsa verecundia, ut te proficiscens non tollerem. Opposuisti semel *ἀναντίλεκτον* causam, Ciceronis nostri valetudinem: conticui: iterum Cicerones: quievi. 2. Nunc mihi iucunditatis plena epistola hoc aspersit molestiae, quod videris ne mihi molestus esses veritus esse atque etiam nunc vereri. Litigare tecum, si fas esset, sed mehercule istuc si umquam suspicatus ero, nihil dicam aliud nisi verebor ne quando ego tibi, cum sum una, molestus sim. [Video te ingemuisse. Sic fit, † εἰδ' ἐν αἰᾷ ἔζησας: numquam enim dicam, ἔα πάσας.] Marium autem nostrum in lecticam mehercule coniecissem,—non illam regis Ptolemaei Anicianam: memini enim, cum hominem portarem ad Baias Neapoli

interpellare?] ‘do you know the meaning of the word interruption, as applied to me?’ That is, ‘you must be aware that your arrival could never be looked on as as interruption by us.’ I have inserted the mark of interrogation after *interpellare*. It seems requisite for the sense, and stands very naturally between two rhetorical questions.

Ateius] sc. *docuit*. This Ateius seems to have been a *quidnunc* of the time, who (like a sort of Paul Pry) made frequent visits in quest of news, always making his interruption still more annoying by copious apologies for it. Cicero says, ‘you want to give me a lesson in his sort of politeness; but it has no place between you and me.’

Tu vero] ‘why, I want you not only to look in on me, but to break in on me; not only to talk to me, but talk me down if you like. It is my greatest pleasure. No moonstruck young poet ever read his last effusion with more delight than I hear your conversation.’ For *tu vero*, see note on Att. iii. 15, 2 (Ep. lxxiii.).

tollerem] ‘take you with me.’

iterum Cicerones] sc. *opposuisti*, ‘the second time you urged the health of both your son and mine.’

2. *nihil dicam aliud*] ‘I will only say, I shall begin to be afraid I may be sometime in the way when I am with you.’

In *verebor* . . . *sim* Cicero gives the very words which he will use if he ever suspects Quintus of fearing that he may be a bore to his elder brother. *Nisi me vereri* or *nisi hoc, verebor* would have been a more careful phrase.

video . . . *πάσας*] Sch., with great probability, transposes these words to § 4, where they stand after the words, *De re publica*. I have printed them there in italics. Not only does the passage interrupt the train of thought here, but it gives excellent sense in the place to which it is transposed. I have very slightly changed the order of the words in making the transposition.

coniecissem] Having said that he regrets that he had not taken Quintus with him, Cicero adds that he would have certainly ‘flung Marius into a litter,’ and taken him with him to the country, but that he feared the unfinished state of his villa would be prejudicial to his friend’s health.

Ptolemaei Anicianam] Cicero interrupts the train of thought to advert to a ludicrous incident which had happened on a former occasion when he was conveying his friend Marius to the country. Cicero had borrowed from his friend and neighbour, Anicius, a *lectica octophoros*, which had been the litter of King Ptolemy when in Rome, and now belonged to Anicius. Anicius had bought (or had been given),

octophoro Aniciano machaerophoris centum sequentibus, miros risus nos edere, cum ille ignarus sui comitatus repente aperuit lecticam et paene ille timore, ego risu corruī—hunc, ut dico, certe sustulīsem, ut aliquando subtilitatem veteris urbanitatis et humanissimi sermonis attingerem. Sed hominum infirmum in villam apertam ac ne rudem quidem etiam nunc invitare nolui. 3. Hoc vero mihi peculiare fuerit, hic etiam isto frui. Nam illorum praediorum scito mihi vicinum Marium lumen esse. Apud Anicium videbimus ut paratum sit. Nos enim ita philologi sumus, ut vel cum fabris habitare possimus. Habemus hanc philosophiam non ab Hymetto, sed ab †araysira. Marius et valetudine est et natura imbecillior.

along with the litter, the bodyguard of one hundred dirkmen, whom Ptolemy had kept as his escort. These followed the litter much to the alarm of Marius, who, suddenly opening the litter, caught sight of his formidable bodyguard. This is the same Marius to whom are addressed Fam. vii. 1, 4.

apertam . . . quidem] 'still exposed to the weather, and not even rudely finished.'

3. *peculiare*] 'it would have been a special treat to me to have him here: you know to have him as a neighbour is the very sunshine of my Pompeian villa (near which Marius lived). I will see about putting him up at the house of Anicius.'

ita phil.] 'scholar as I am, yet I can put up with workmen to live with,' *i. e.* 'I am not like most literary persons, too particular (*nimum mollis*);' so Man.; but the context makes it better to take *philologi* = 'literary' (see Att. ii. 17, 1, Ep. xlv), rendering 'I am so immersed in my books that I can live in the midst of the workmen's din.'

†*araysira*] It seems hopeless to try to emend this passage. Perhaps *ab area Cyrea*, the conjecture of Olivetus and Lallemand is the least improbable. 'I have drawn this power of concentration not from the effeminate discipline of philosophic study in Athens, but from being inured to the hardship of living amid the din of workmen, owing to the frequent building schemes which I carry out under the direction of my architect Cyrus.' But this is of course very forced, and *areis Cyreis* would seem rather to be indicated. Could Cicero have written *ab area Cyrea* or *ab arcula Cyrea*? He uses

arculae, Att. ii. 1, 1 (Ep. xxvii.), for the *repertoirs* of Isocrates' rhetoric. If *area*, then, or *arcula*, suggested a philosopher's *repertoire*, and if the same word might be used of any box or chest (and why not, then, a *tool-box*?), Cicero might say, 'this philosophic attitude of mine has its source not in Athens, not in the *areae* (or *arculae*) of Athenian philosophy, but in another *area*, the *area* (tool-box) of Cyrus,' that is, 'I am so habituated to the *regime* of Cyrus that I am quite prepared to live in a half-finished house.' On this verse Tunstall has made one of his extraordinarily ingenious conjectures. For *araysira* he reads *arce* *Ψυρία*, by which name Cicero refers to Arpinum in Att. xvi. 13. This conjecture seems to me rarely ingenious, because Cicero seems to refer here to Arpinum. What more natural thing could Cicero say than, 'I have got my indifference to draughts (my willingness to live in a half-built house), not from the honeyed mountain of Greece, but from the wild hills of Arpinum.' He has, in a passage already quoted, spoken of the *patrios montes* of Arpinum. Everything seems to point to Tunstall's emendation. Yet it can hardly be right. When Cicero, writing in the year 710, speaks of *νήσος Ψυρία*, the context shows that he means Arpinum. Is it likely that eleven years before that time he should have written of Arpinum as *νήσος Ψυρία*, without a hint from the context as to his meaning? No; the letters of Cicero must not be treated as a whole. One quotation or train of thought was uppermost in his mind one year, another in another. We must not suppose that Cicero, at fifty-one, was thinking of that particular passage in the *Odyssey* which occupied his mind at sixty-two.

4. De interpellatione tantum sumam a vobis temporis ad scribendum quantum dabit. Utinam nihil detis, ut potius vestra iniuria quam ignavia mea cessem! De re publica video te ingemuisse: sic fit: εἰ δ' ἐν αἷα ἔζησας; nimium te laborare doleo (nunquam enim dicam ἔα πάσας) et meliorem civem esse quam Philoctetam, qui accepta iniuria ea spectacula quaerebat, quae tibi acerba esse video. Amabo te, advola, consolabor te et omnem abstergebo dolorem, et adduc, si me amas, Marium. Sed appropriate. Hortus domi est.

CXXIV. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 11).

CUMANUM, A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero per Atticum cupit certior fieri quid Romae fiat omninoque eius litteras sibi gratissimas esse significat, praeterea de Pompeio ac de rebus domesticis quaedam significat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Delectarunt me epistolae tuae, quas accepi uno tempore duas ante diem v. Kal. Perge reliqua. Gestio scire ista omnia. Etiam

But he very probably used here some word which signified Arpinum.

4. *utinam*] 'my only prayer is that you will not leave me any time for writing: then, I can attribute my idleness, not to my own sloth, but to your evil influence.'

εἰ δ'] 'but if you were on the spot?' i. e. 'if you who are absent groan at the state of affairs, what would you do if you were here?' We do not know whence the Greek words are taken, and therefore can only guess about their application.

ἔα πάσας] μελεδῶνας, Lambinus; ἔα πάσας τὰς μελεδῶνας, Ed. Crat.; but again we are at a loss for the source of the quotation. The sense would be 'I am sorry you are *too* troubled about public affairs (mind I say *too* troubled: I am not one of those who say *begone dull care* on public matters); but I am sorry that you are *too* troubled, and that you are a greater patriot than Philoctetes, who, when wronged, enjoyed the sufferings of

his country, which gall you.'

Hortus] 'we have our garden at our very doors,' i. e. 'you will find no lack of garden-produce for use or of flowers for ornament.' But perhaps Cicero rather refers to the abundance of flowers, &c., which were trained to grow about the house. In Q. Fr. iii. 1, 5 (Ep. cxlvi.) he speaks of the wealth of ivy in the portico of Quintus' house; and again, *ibid.* §, he says he will not buy *horti*, adding *nec fui umquam valde cupidus et nunc domus supeditat mihi hortorum amoenitatem*; again he writes, *si hortum in bibliotheca habes deerit nihil*, Fam. ix. 4. Boot paraphrases the words in the text thus:—*in ipsa domo tot sunt arbusta ut horti speciem referat*. *Hortus* is 'a kitchen-garden'; *horti*, 'a pleasure-garden.'

1. *Perge reliqua*] sc. *narrare*. The ellipse after *perge* is very common in the letters.

illud cuius modi sit velim perspicias : potes a Demetrio. Dixit mihi Pompeius Crassum a se in Albano exspectari ante diem iv. Kal. : is cum venisset, Romam esse statim venturos, ut rationes cum publicanis putarent. Quaesivi, gladiatoribusne ? Respondit, ante quam inducerentur. Id cuius modi sit aut nunc, si scies, aut cum is Romam venerit, ad me mittas velim. 2. Nos hic voramus litteras cum homine mirifico—ita mehercule sentio—Dionysio, qui te omnesque vos salutat.

Γλυκύτερον οὐδὲν ἢ πάντ' εἰδέναι.

Qua re, ut homini curioso, ita perscribe ad me, quid primus dies, quid secundus, quid censores, quid Appius, quid illa populi Appuleia : denique etiam quid a te fiat ad me velim scribas. Non enim, ut vere loquamur, tam rebus novis quam tuis litteris delector. Ego mecum praeter Dionysium eduxi neminem, nec metuo tamen ne mihi sermo desit : † abs te opere delector. Tu Luceio nostrum librum dabis. Demetrii Magnetis tibi mitto, statim ut sit qui a te mihi epistolam referat.

illud] refers to what follows.

Demetrio] a freedman of Pompeius.

gladiatoribusne] 'is it during the gladiatorial show ?'

inducerentur] 'before its commencement.'

2. *γλυκύτερον*] I have transposed *οὐδὲν* and *γλυκύτερον*. The verse is then a senarius, wanting the first foot. The usual course has been to read *οὐδὲν γλυκυτέρον ἐστιν ἢ πάντ' εἰδέναι*. The verse is ascribed by Meineke to Menander. The aspiration for universal knowledge was not so chimerical in the time of Menander as it would be now. Yet, even in our own time, it was said that 'omniscience was the foible' of Dr. Whewell.

primus dies] of the gladiatorial show.

Some word like *attulerit* is understood.

censores] *acturi sint*, that is, 'are they going to hold the census ?'

Appius] was a candidate for next year's consulship.

Appuleia] Clodius, who is called the Appuleius of the people, because he is as turbulent as Appuleius Saturninus ; he is called 'that unsexed Appuleius' as being *pudicitiae suae prodigus* ; cp. *filiole Curionis*, Att. i. 14, 5 (Ep. xx.).

† *abs te*] See Adn. Crit.

librum] The notes which he had promised Luceius above, Fam. v. 12, 10.

Dem. Magn.] sc. librum *περὶ ὁμοιοίας* : cp. Att. viii. 11, 7. The bearer of the book to Atticus would bring back a letter from him to Cicero.

CXXV. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 12).

CUMANUM, A. U. C. 699 ; B. C. 55 ; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero Attico significat quid egerit cum Egnatio et cum Macrone eumque invitat, ut secum postridie Kalend. cenet.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Egnatius Romae est. Sed ego cum eo de re Halimeti vehementer Antii egi. Graviter se acturum cum Aquilio confirmavit. Videbis ergo hominem, si voles. Macroni vix videor praesto esse posse : Idibus enim auctionem Larini video et biduum praeterea. Id tu, quoniam Macronem tanti facis, ignoscas mihi velim. Sed, si me diligis, postridie Kalend. cena apud me cum Pilia. Prorsus id facies. Kalend. cogito in hortis Crassipedis, quasi in deversorio, cenare. Facio fraudem senatus consulto. Inde domum cenatus, ut sim mane praesto Miloni. Ibi te igitur videbo et promovebo. Domus te nostra tota salutatur.

Egnatius] a money-lender.

Aquilio] probably the Aquilius who was Cicero's colleague in the praetorship.

Pilia] wife of Atticus.

Crassipedis] son-in-law of Cicero.

facio fraudem] 'I elude the Sctum' by remaining in the neighbourhood of the city ; if he had been in the city he would have been obliged to attend the meeting of the senate.

sim praesto] This does not refer to the trial of Milo *de vi* on the prosecution of Clodius, which occurred the year before. The words do not necessarily connote any appearance in court as advocate. They are quite general, and may refer to any appointment with Milo.

promovebo] 'I will bring you home to my own house from Milo's, to dine with me.'

CXXVI. TO FADIUS GALLUS (FAM. VII. 23).

ROME, A. U. C. 699 ; B. C. 55 ; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero scribit de signis et statu a M. Fadio Gallo sibi emptis, quae sibi emi noluisse dicit, sed tamen rata se velle habere : tum de domo a Gallo prope se conducta.

M. CICERO S. D. M. FADIO GALLO.

1. Tantum quod ex Arpinati veneram, cum mihi a te litterae redditae sunt : ab eodemque accepi Avianii litteras, in quibus hoc inerat liberalissimum, nomina se facturum, cum venisset, qua ego vellem die. Fac, quaeso, qui ego sum, esse te : estne aut tui pudoris aut nostri, primum rogare de die, deinde plus annua postulare ? Sed essent, mi Galle, omnia facilia, si et ea mercatus esses, quae ego desiderabam, et ad eam summam, quam volueram. Ac tamen ista ipsa, quae te emisse scribis, non solum rata mihi erunt, sed etiam grata : plane enim intellego te non modo studio, sed etiam amore usum quae te delectarint, hominem, ut ego semper iudicavi, in omni iudicio elegantissimum, quia me digna putaris, coëmisse. 2. Sed velim maneat Damasippus in sententia : prorsus enim ex istis emptionibus nullam desidero. Tu autem

1. *tantum quod . . . veneram*] sc. *tantum factum est quod veneram*, 'I had only just arrived.' This phrase is common in Cic. Epp. So with negatives, *tantum quod non hominem nominat*, 'he only omits the name,' Verr. i. 116.

nomina se facturum] 'that he will not debit my account till I wish.' Gallus had bought certain statues from Avianius for Cicero. Avianius generously proposed to wait for payment till it should suit Cicero's convenience. Literally, 'that he will enter the debt on whatever day I please.' Interest would begin to run from the day on which the debt was entered : cf. Off. iii. 59.

fac] 'put yourself in my place.'

rogare de die] sc. *solutionis*, 'to ask for

credit.'

plus annua] 'to ask for more than a year's credit.'

rata . . . grata] 'not only do I ratify your purchase, but I am gratified so to do.' This, or 'accepted . . . acceptable,' will reproduce the play on the words.

2. *Damasippus*] This is the Damasippus mentioned in Hor. Sat. § ii. Damasippus had said that he was willing to take the statues off Cicero's hands. Cicero says, 'I hope he will adhere to his offer.' Other characters mentioned by Horace, in common with Cicero, are Tigellius, Craterus, Arrius, Trebatius, the son of Aesopus, Arbuscula, Tarpa.—Prof. Palmer, Horace, *Satires*, p. xv.

autem ignarus instituti mei, quanti ego genus omnino signorum omnium non aestimo, tanti ista quattuor aut quinque sumpsisti. Bacchas istas cum Musis Metelli comparas. Quid simile? primum ipsas ego Musas numquam tanti putassem atque id fecissem Musis omnibus approbantibus: sed tamen erat aptum bibliothecae studiisque nostris congruens. Bacchis vero ubi est apud me locus?—At pulchellae sunt.—Novi optime et saepe vidi. Nominatim tibi signa mihi nota mandassem, si probassem. Ea enim signa ego emere soleo, quae ad similitudinem gymnasiorum exornent mihi in palaestra locum. Martis vero signum quo mihi pacis auctori? Gaudeo nullum Saturni signum fuisse: haec enim duo signa putarem mihi aes alienum attulisse. Mercurii mallet aliquod fuisset: felicius, puto, cum Aviano transigere possemus. 3. Quod tibi destinaras trapezophorum, si te delectat, habebis: sin autem sententiam mutasti, ego habebo scilicet.—Ista quidem summa ne ego multo libentius emerim deversorium Tarracinae, ne semper hospiti molestus sim. Omnino liberti mei video esse culpam, cui plane res certas mandaram, itemque Iunii, quem puto tibi notum esse, Avianii familiarem. Exhedria quaedam mihi nova sunt instituta in porticula Tusculani. Ea volebam tabellis ornare: etenim, si quid generis istius modi me delectat, pictura delectat. Sed tamen, si ista mihi sunt habenda, certiore velim me facias ubi sint,

quanti . . . tanti] With the reading in the text *tanti* and *quanti* must be correlative, and the sense must be, 'But you, in ignorance of my practice, took four or five of those works at a price inversely proportional to the value I set on statues generally.' But this seems a strange expression. I think we should read *aestimem*, take *tanti* and *quanti* as not correlative, and translate, 'You, not knowing how little I care for such things, have bought those four or five statues at so high a price.'

genus . . . omnium] 'statues of all kinds.' Cp. Ep. cix. 2; cxv. 3. For the gen. *signorum* (which is the gen. *exegeticus* of Draeger, Hist. Synt. i. 466), cp. unum genus est eorum, Cat. ii. 8; propter eam causam sceleris (viz. 'crime'). 2 Verr. iv. 51; insidias cadis atque incendiorum, Cat. ii. 3; and other passages quoted on Epp. cix. and cxv. Add *proelii dimicationem*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 5; *optio eligendi*, Att. iv. 18, 3.

erat] '(such a purchase) would have

been suitable.' Cp. et nisi longe alium late iactaret odorem laurus erat, Virg. Georg. ii. 132; peream male si non optimum erat, Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 6; et iustum poterat et scribere fortem, *ibid.* 16; in patrias artes erudiendus erat, Ov. Hor. i. 112. Prof. Palmer, on Hor. Sat. ii. 1, calls this 'the imperfect of neglected duty.'

pacis auctori] 'a man of peace,' alluding most probably to his feat in crushing Catiline without unsheathing the sword: hence *cedant arma togae* and other such boasts. Others, supposing the reference to be to his attitude as peace-maker between Pompeius and Caesar, place this letter very much later.

duo signa] of two such inauspicious gods as Mars and Saturn. Mercury, on the other hand, was the god of treasure-trove and good luck.

3. *trapezophorum*] See *Addenda* to the Commentary.

Exhedria] See *Addenda* to the Commentary.

quando arcessantur, quo genere vecturae. Si enim Damasippus in sententia non manebit, aliquem Pseudodamasippum vel cum iactura reperiemus. 4. Quod ad me de domo scribis iterum, iam id ego proficiscens mandaram meae Tulliae: ea enim ipsa hora acceperam tuas litteras. Egeram etiam cum tuo Nicia, quod is utitur, ut scis, familiariter Cassio. Ut redii autem prius quam tuas legi has proximas litteras, quaesivi, de mea Tullia quid egisset. Per Liciniam se egisse dicebat (sed opinor Cassium uti non ita multum sorore), eam porro negare se audere cum vir abesset—est enim profectus in Hispaniam † Dexius—illo et absente et insciente migrare. Est mihi gratissimum tanti a te aestimatam consuetudinem vitae victusque nostri, primum, ut eam domum sumeres, ut non modo prope me, sed plane mecum habitare posses, deinde ut migrare tanto opere festines. Sed ne vivam, si tibi concedo, ut eius rei tu cupidior sis quam ego sum. Itaque omnia experiar. Video enim quid mea intersit, quid utriusque nostrum. Si quid egero, faciam ut scias. Tu et ad omnia rescribes et quando te exspectem facies me, si tibi videtur, certiore.

Pseudodamasippum] 'I must look out for some imitator of D. to sell them to, even at a loss.' Prof. Palmer, on Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 16, remarks that Damasippus must have been quite at the head of his trade, as he had imitators in it.

4. *Cassio*] Gallus had bought a house from Cassius, inhabited by Cassius' sister Licinia and her husband Dexius. Licinia did not wish to move out in the absence of

her husband. Not being on good terms with her brother, she was not anxious to consult the convenience of the purchaser of his house. The name *Dexius* is corrupt.

uti non ita multum] 'is not on very good terms with.'

ne vivam si tibi concedo] 'upon my life, I won't admit.' Cp. *ita vivam ut maximus sumptus facio*, Att. v. 15, 2, 'upon my life, I am living very extravagantly.'

CXXVII. TO M. MARIUS (FAM. VII. 1).

ROME, A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero probat, quod M. Marius ludos a Pompeio II. eos. editos spectatum non venerit. Se quoque interea Caninii causam egisse narrat et optare se ait, ut, omissis rebus forensibus, libere possit in villis et cum Mario vivere.

M. CICERO S. D. M. MARIO.

1. Si te dolor aliqui corporis aut infirmitas valetudinis tuae tenuit quo minus ad ludos venires, fortunae magis tribuo quam sapientiae tuae: sin haec, quae ceteri mirantur, contemnenda duxisti et, cum per valetudinem posses, venire tamen noluisti, utrumque laetor, et sine dolore corporis te fuisse et animo valuisse, cum ea, quae sine causa mirantur alii, neglexeris; modo ut tibi constiterit fructus otii tui, quo quidem tibi perfrui mirifice licuit, cum esses in ista amoenitate paene solus relictus. Neque tamen dubito quin tu ex illo cubiculo tuo, ex quo tibi †Stabianum† perforasti et

1. *ludos*] This very interesting and beautiful letter was written on the occasion of the dedication of Pompeius's theatre and the temple of Venus Victrix, when Pompeius delighted the people with spectacles of unusual magnificence, including not only dramatic and athletic performances in the theatre, but races and combats with wild beasts (*venationes*) in the circus. In these were killed five hundred lions and twenty elephants, according to Pliny. The letter is remarkable, as showing a refinement very rare in the age of Cicero. It seems to me, however, that the value of the letter from this point of view is somewhat overestimated. It seems clear from § 6, *haec ad te . . . paeniteret*, that the letter must be regarded rather as a rhetorical exercise on a theme suggested by his friend, than as the expression of the writer's own opinion of the question of the morality of such spectacles as he describes. Strangely enough, this particular show seems to

have supplied incidents so affecting as to move even the callous mob of Rome. Pliny (viii. 7) tells us that the cries and piteous bearing of the elephants, when they found escape impossible, touched the people so much that they rose in a mass and cursed Pompeius, *tanto populi dolore, ut, oblitus imperatoris ac munificentiae honori suo exquisitae, flens universus consurgeret dirasque Pompeio imprecaretur.*

modo ut constiterit] 'always provided you made a good use of your leisure.' *Constiterit* may come from *consto*, in the sense of 'to be,' 'exist,' *ὑπάρχειν*, as in *si ipsa mens constare potest vacans corpore*, N. D. i. 25; or from *consisto*, in the same sense, *vix binos oratores laudabiles constitisse*, Brut. 333.

Ex quo tibi †Stabianum† perforasti] I think *Stabianum* is certainly corrupt. *Perforasti Stabianum* is usually explained 'you have opened a window giving on the Stabian waters of the Bay.' But is this a possible meaning of the verb?

patefecisti Misenum, per eos dies matutina tempora lectiunculis consumpseris, cum illi interea, qui te istic reliquerunt, spectarent comminus mimos semisomni. Reliquas vero partes diei tu consumebas iis delectationibus, quas tibi ipse ad arbitrium tuum compararas, nobis autem erant ea perpetienda, quae Sp. Maecius

Perforare means—(1) ‘to bore through,’ a meaning which is clearly impossible here; (2) ‘to make by boring;’ and this last signification is common in Cicero; e. g. *duo lumina ab animo ad oculos perforata*, N. D. iii. 9; *viae . . . a sede animi perforatae*, Tusc. i. 46. But *perforare Stabianum* = *perforando patefacere Stabianum* is impossible, as was seen by Boot (Obs. Crit. p. 12). Under *Stabianum* lurks some direct object of *perforasti*. Boot conjectures *tablinum*, ‘a balcony.’ I would suggest, to account for *Stabianum* of the mss, *istud maenianum*. For *maeniana*, ‘timber balconies’ thrown out for the purpose of affording a view, and taking their name from Maenius (cons. 416, b. c. 338), see Reid on Acad. ii. 70. Either conjecture involves a violent departure from the mss; but a puzzled copyist would be very likely to suppose a reference to *Stabiae* S. of Pompeii, where the villa of Marius was situated. Boot would read *sinum* for *Misenum*, but on insufficient grounds. The whole sentence, *ex quo maenianum perforasti et patefecisti* for *ex quo maeniano perforato patefecisti* supplies an example of *parataxis* for *hypotaxis*, not rare in the letters.

lectiunculis] ‘little dips into books.’ This is, I think, what Cicero wrote. He had said above (or implied) that the leisure of Marius was not properly employed unless he did something useful. Now, to take little dips into books would be very useful as compared with dozing over bad farces. Kl. conjectured *spectiunculis* for *lectiunculis*; but would taking ‘little peeps’ at the beauties of the Bay of Naples satisfy the condition expressed above, *modo ut tibi constiterit fructus otii tui*? Moreover, *spectarent* is just the word that would not be used after *spectiunculis*. But the editors have treated this passage very badly: in the words *neque dubito quin tu ex illo cubiculo ex quo tibi Stabianum perforasti . . . per eos dies matutina tempora lectiunculis consumpseris*, it seems at first sight that for *ex illo cubiculo* we should certainly read *in illo cubiculo*, and this has been the course adopted by every editor from Lallemand to Baizer. But this

is unscientific. If Cicero wrote the easy *in illo cubiculo*, why do all the mss give us the difficult *ex illo cubiculo*? The fact is, that in *ex illo cubiculo ex quo* we have an example of that *inverse attraction*, which is quite in the manner of Plautus, with whose diction I have already pointed out so many marked parallelisms in the letters of Cicero: cp. for instance, Pl. Cist. i. 1, 63, *indidem unde oritur facito ut facias stultitiam sepe libilem*; again, *ego te hodie reddam madidum si vivo probe tibi quoi decretum est bibere aquam*, Aul. iii. 6, 39; *quid illum facere vis qui, tibi quoi divitiae domi maxumae sunt . . . numum nullum habes*, Epid. iii. 1, 8. Hence I would by no means change *ex illo* to *in illo*, with Lallemand. Such a course would be truly ‘from the purpose’ of criticism. Either Cicero wrote *ex illo . . . lectiunculis*, or *ex illo . . . spectiunculis*; certainly not *in illo . . . lectiunculis*. I believe he wrote *ex illo . . . lectiunculis*; and that this passage supplies another striking instance of the close parallelism between the diction of the letters of Cicero and of the comic drama. For a good example of *inverse attraction* in Greek, cp. *βῆναι κείθεν ὅθεν περ ἔκει*, Soph. O. C. 1226.

comminus] While Marius has a *distant* view of Misenum, those who left him to come to Rome have a *close* (too close) view of the farces which Cicero found so tiresome. *Comminus* for *communes* is the admirable conjecture of Madv. (Adv. Crit. iii. 158). *Communes* is usually explained ‘hackneyed,’ ‘gewöhnliche,’ ‘alltägliche’ (Süpfle). But this is not a meaning which *communis* ever bears (*communes loci*, ‘common places,’ in no way defends it); nor, if it did, would it be suitable here, as Madv. justly observes.

Sp. Maecius] Tarpa (mentioned by Horace). He was appointed by Pompeius to be public licenser of plays, like the Lord Chamberlain amongst ourselves. According to the Schol. (Comm. Cruq.) on Horace, Tarpa was again appointed to discharge the same functions, as president of a court of five members, by Octavius.

probavisset. 2. Omnino, si quaeris, ludi apparatissimi, sed non tui stomachi: coniecturam enim facio de meo. Nam primum honoris causa in scaenam redierant ii, quos ego honoris causa de scaena decesse arbitrabar. Deliciae vero tuae, noster Aesopus, eius modi fuit, ut ei desinere per omnes homines liceret. Is iurare cum coepisset, vox eum defecit in illo loco: *Si sciens fallo*. Quid tibi ego alia narrem? nosti enim reliquos ludos: qui ne id quidem leporis habuerunt, quod solent mediocres ludi: apparatus enim spectatio tollebat omnem hilaritatem, quo quidem apparatu non dubito quin animo aequissimo carueris. Quid enim delectationis habent sescenti muli in Clytaemnestra aut in Equo Troiano creterrarum tria milia aut armatura varia peditatus et equitatus in aliqua pugna? quae popularem admirationem habuerunt, delectationem tibi nullam attulissent. 3. Quod si tu per eos dies operam dedisti Protogeni tuo, dum modo is tibi quidvis potius quam orationes meas legerit, ne tu haud paullo plus quam quisquam nostrum delectationis habuisti. Non enim te puto Graecos aut Oscos ludos desiderasse, praesertim cum Oscos ludos vel in senatu vestro spectare possis, Graecos ita

probavisset] 'if only Tarpa gave his sanction we had to sit out the play.' The subjunctive is used because *ea* expresses 'the kind' of plays which they had to witness. The point of the antithesis is that Marius could choose his own amusements, while Cicero and the other spectators of the games were depending on the taste of Tarpa. See Madv. § 379.

2. *non tui stomachi*] 'not such as you would have stomached.' This is the genitive which Draeger, Hist. Synt. i. 461, calls *der Genitiv der Eigenschaft*; cp. *plurimarum palmarum gladiator*, Rose. Am. 6; *non multi cibi hospitem accipies, multi ioci*, Fam. ix. 26, 4; it is combined with the qualitative ablative in *multis luminibus ingenii: multae tamen artis*, Q. Fr. ii. 9, 4.

honoris causa] This phrase is used in two senses; they had retired from the stage to preserve their own reputation (which they were no longer able to maintain); they now came back to the stage to do honour to the occasion (by restoring to the stage its past ornaments). One might render 'out of respect for Pompeius they came back to the stage which they had left out of respect for themselves.'

si sciens fallo] This was the form of oath *per Iovem Lapidem*. Sch. remarks

that we may hence infer that not only *palliatæ fabulae*, but *togatæ* were represented on this occasion; for in the former there would not have been this purely Roman *formula*. But may not the players have had to take some formal oath? Cicero seems to speak of the words as if it were well known that all players must use them. Moreover, the *Clyt.* (of Attius) and *Equus Troianus* (of Livius) were tragedies, *crepidatæ*, not *palliatæ*; and in translating a formal oath from the Greek, the regular forms of the Latin oath would doubtless be used. On the tragedy of the Roman stage, cp. Friedländer, ii. 426.

creterrarum] another form of *craterarum*, according to Non. and Paul. ex Fest. 'Bowls' might have formed part of the spoils in the triumphal procession on the sack of Troy. Graev. injudiciously conjectured *cetrarum*, 'bucklers,' 'targeteers.'

3. *Protogeni*] Marius' *anagnostes*, or slave, whose duty it was to read aloud.

quidvis] 'anything, except my speeches' (as Cicero modestly adds).

senatu vestro] the municipal senate of whatever town Marius belonged to. Probably, like our town councils and vestries, these bodies furnished much innocent amusement to the judicious. *Oscos ludos* = *fabulas Atellanas*. Cicero says

non ames, ut ne ad villam quidem tuam via Graeca ire soleas. Nam quid ego te athletas putem desiderare, qui gladiatores contempseris? in quibus ipse Pompeius confitetur se et operam et oleum perdidisse. Reliquae sunt venationes binae per dies quinque, magnificae—nemo negat—, sed quae potest homini esse politico delectatio, cum aut homo imbecillus a valentissima bestia laniatur aut praeclara bestia venabulo transverberatur? Quae tamen, si videnda sunt, saepe vidisti, neque nos, qui haec spectavimus, quidquam novi vidimus. Extremus elephantorum dies fuit, in quo admiratio magna vulgi atque turbae, delectatio nulla exstitit. Quin etiam misericordia quaedam consecuta est atque opinio eius modi, esse quamdam illi beluae cum genere humano societatem.⁴ His ego tamen diebus, ludis scaenicis, ne forte videar tibi non modo beatus, sed liber omnino fuisse, dirupi me paene in iudicio Galli Caninii, familiaris tui. Quod si tam facilem populum haberem, quam Aesopus habuit, libenter mehercule artem desinerem tecumque et cum similibus nostri viverem. Nam me cum antea taedebat, cum et aetas et ambitio me hortabatur et licebat denique quem nolebam non defendere, tum vero hoc tempore vita nulla est. Neque enim fructum ullum laboris exspecto et cogor non numquam homines non optime de me meritos rogatu eorum, qui bene meriti sunt, defendere.⁵ Itaque quaero causas omnes aliquando vivendi arbitrato meo, teque et istam rationem otii tui et laudo vehementer et probō, quodque nos minus intervisis, hoc fero animo aequiore, quod, si Romae esses, tamen neque nos lepore tuo neque te—si qui est in me—meo frui liceret propter molestissimas occupationes meas: quibus si me relaxaro—nam ut plane exsolvam non postulo—te ipsum, qui multos

the town council of Pompeii will supply Marius with plenty of broad farces like the *fabulae Atellanae*. The allusion seems rather far-fetched, but the whole letter, it must be remembered, is a rhetorical exercise.

via Graeca] the *via Graeca* was in very bad repair. Cicero jestingly says that such is Marius's aversion for the Greeks that he will not even take the Grecian road to his own villa.

glad. contempseris] Graevius conjectures with much probability that this is an allusion to some service which Marius had done to Cicero in defending him against the bravoës of Clodius.

operam et oleum] a proverbial expression for wasted labour. The allusion is to 'midnight oil,' not to the oil used in the training schools; Att. ii. 17, 1; xiii. 38, 1; Plaut. Poen. i. 2, 119.

venationes] 'fights between men and beasts,' 'wild beast baiting.'

misericordia] See Plin. N. H. viii. 7.

4. *facilem*] 'ready' (to let me retire).

artem desinerem] *desinere artem* is found in Suet. Tib. 6, 36; *desinere seditionem* in Gell. ii. 12, 3; and this construction is not rare in the poets. Cp. *orationes a plerisque legi sunt desitae*, Cic. Brut. 123.

5. *relaxaro . . . exsolvam*] 'remission,' . . . 'release.'

annos nihil aliud commentaris, docebo profecto quid sit humaniter vivere. Tu modo istam imbecillitatem valetudinis tuae sustentā et tuere, ut facis, ut nostras villas obire et mecum simul leticula concursare possis. 6. Haec ad te pluribus verbis scripsi quam soleo non otii abundantia, sed amoris erga te, quod me quadam epistola subinvitaras, si memoria tenes, ut ad te aliquid eius modi scriberem, quo minus te praetermisisset ludos paeniteret. Quod si adsecutus sum, gaudeo: sin minus, hoc me tamen consolor, quod posthac ad ludos venies nosque vises neque in epistolis relinques meis spem aliquam delectationis tuae.

CXXVIII. TO Q. PHILIPPUS, PROCONS. IN ASIA
(FAM. XIII. 74).

ROME, A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero Q. Philippo L. Oppium praesentem et Egnatii absentis negotia commendat.

M. CICERO Q. PHILIPPO PROCOS. S.

Etsi non dubito pro tua in me observantia proque nostra necessitudine quin commendationem meam memoria teneas, tamen etiam atque etiam eundem tibi L. Oppium familiarem meum praesentem et L. Egnatii familiarissimi mei absentis negotia commendo. Tanta mihi cum eo necessitudo est familiaritasque, ut, si mea res esset, non magis laborarem. Qua propter gratissimum mihi feceris, si curaris ut is intellegat me a te tantum amari, quantum ipse existimo. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes: idque ut facias, te vehementer rogo.

6. *relinques*] 'you will not leave at the mercy of a letter from me any hope you may have of getting enjoyment out of the games.' Süpfle understands these words to mean, 'you will come and see me, and so you will not have to depend on my

letters for your entertainment when you will have myself.' But this is a pointless remark, and does not harmonize with the foregoing sentence. Moreover, such a rendering hardly takes *aliquam* into account.

CXXIX. TO Q. ANCHARIUS, PROCONS. IN MACEDONIA
(FAM. XIII. 40).

ROME, A. U. C. 699 ; B. C. 55 ; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero Q. Anchario procos. Macedoniae L. et C. Aurelios commendat.

M. CICERO S. D. Q. ANCHARIO Q. F. PROCOS.

L. et C. Aurelios L. filios, quibus et ipsis et patre eorum, viro optimo, familiarissime utor, commendo tibi maiorem in modum, adolescentes omnibus optimis artibus ornatos, meos pernecessarios, tua amicitia dignissimos. Si ulla mea apud te commendatio valuit, quod scio multas plurimum valuisse, haec ut valeat, rogo. Quod si eos honorifice liberaliterque tractaris, et tibi gratissimos optimosque adolescentes adiunxeris et mihi gratissimum feceris.

CXXX. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 13).

TUSCULANUM, A. U. C. 699 ; B. C. 55 ; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero significat se venisse a. d. xvii. Kal. Dec. in Tusculanum, fore Romae a. d. xiv. Kal. propter nuptias Milonis et comitiorum opinionem de altercationibus in senatu factis, rogat Atticum ut se de omnibus rebus urbanis edoceat, de Crasso, de libris oratoriis, quos in manu habeat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nos in Tusculanum venisse a. d. xvii. Kal. Decembr. video te scire. Ibi Dionysius nobis praesto fuit. Romae a. d. xiv. Kalend. volumus esse. Quid dico, volumus? Immo vero cogimur : Milonis nuptiae. Comitiorum non nulla opinio est. † Ergo et si

maiores in modum] cp. *bono modo*,
Q. Fr. ii. 4, 3.

Milo was about to be married to Fausta,
the daughter of Sulla the Dictator.

1. *nuptiae*] sc. *me cogunt Romae esse*.
† *ergo et si irata*†] I have thought it
better here to give the unintelligible words

irata† afuisse me in altercationibus, quas in senatu factas audio, fero non moleste. Nam aut defendissem quod non placeret aut defuissem cui non oporteret. Sed mehercule velim res istas et praesentem statum rei publicae et quo animo consules ferant hunc σκυλὸν scribas ad me, quantum potest. Valde sum ὀξύπεινος et, si quaeris, omnia mihi sunt suspecta. 2. Crassum quidem nostrum minore dignitate aiunt profectum paludatum quam olim aequalem eius L. Paullum item iterum consulem. O hominem nequam! De libris oratoriis factum est a me diligenter. Diu multumque in manibus fuerunt: describas licet. Illud etiam *atque etiam* te rogo, τὴν παροῦσαν κατάστασιν τυπωδῶς, ne istuc hospes veniam.

of the ms than to print a doubtful conjecture. Many of these are plausible; *ego ut sit rata* would mean *ego* (vereor) *ut sit* (opinio) *rata*; the ellipse of *vereor* would not be inconsistent with the style of the letters; but, as we do not know what the *comitiorum opinio* was, it is quite desperate to attempt to restore words which refer to it. Other conjectures (for which see Adn. Crit.) labour under the same difficulty. Cicero may have written *ego ut sitio rem ita afuisse me . . . fero non moleste*, 'I, though athirst for the senatorial arena, yet am glad,' &c. The altercations probably related to the question whether the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Syria should be confirmed to Caesar, Pompeius, and Crassus for five years.

σκυλὸν] This word is from σκύλλειν, which Hesychius explains τὸ τοῖς ὀνυξί σπᾶν. 'Tangled skein' would go near the thought in English, but the French *tracasserie* would be a better rendering; σκύλλειν is 'to worry,' in the N. T. To find the exact meaning of a Greek word used by Cicero we must look to the post-classical, not the classical,

usage of the word. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius Pulcher were elected near the end of the year, the elections having been obstructed at the regular time.

2. *minore dignitate*] This is *litotes*, or *meiosis*. L. Aemilius Paullus repaired to his province attended, *maiore quam solita frequentia prosequentium*, Liv. xliv. 22; Crassus went, followed by the curses of Ateius Capito the tribune, Cic. de Div. i. 24. Paullus, when he went to Macedonia, was sixty years of age, as also was Crassus on his departure for Syria.

O hominem nequam] This exclamation strongly contrasts with the sentiments of admiration and affection expressed in Ep. cxxxii. This is one of the many proofs that Cicero did not, when he was writing these letters, contemplate their ultimate publication.

libris oratoriis] the three books *de oratore*.

τὴν π. κ. τυπωδῶς] sc. *describas*, 'give me a sketch of the present state of things.'

LETTERS OF THE FIFTEENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. CXXXI.-CLXVI.

A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

COSS. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

DURING this year Cicero seems to acquiesce in the government of the Triumvirs. This is evidenced by the speeches for Messius, for Vatinius, for Gabinius, and for Crassus—all in the interests of the Triumvirs—as well as the speeches for Rabirius Postumus and for Plancius ; and we have in Fam. i. 9 an elaborate defence of the political attitude which he has now adopted. To this year belong the books *De Republica*. Quintus joined the camp of Caesar in Britain. This year Julia, the wife of Pompeius and daughter of Caesar, died.

CXXXI. TO CRASSUS, AFTER HIS DEPARTURE FOR SYRIA
(FAM. V. 8).

ROME, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero M. Licinio Crasso in Syriam profecto scribit, quanta cum contentione in senatu defenderit, vide harum epistolarum lib. 1. ep. 9. § 20. Excusat quae interceserat simultatem et pristina amicitia restituta suam operam, consilium, auctoritatem, gratiam in omnibus rebus large pollicetur.

M. CICERO M. LICINIO P. F. CRASSO.

1. Quantum a. d. . . . meum studium exstiterit dignitatis tuae vel tuendae vel etiam augendae non dubito quin ad te omnes tui scripserint. Non enim fuit aut mediocre aut obscurum aut eius modi quod silentio posset praeteriri. Nam et cum consulibus et cum multis consularibus tanta contentione decertavi, quanta nunquam antea ulla in causa, suscepique mihi perpetuam propugnationem pro omnibus ornamentis tuis, veterique nostrae necessitudini iam diu debitum sed multa varietate temporum interruptum officium cumulate reddidi. 2. Neque mehercule umquam mihi tui aut colendi aut ornandi voluntas defuit, sed quaedam pestes homi-

1. *quantum a. d. . . .*] 'How I showed my zeal for you on the —.' The text gives the excellent emendation of Klotz, *a. d.* for *ad.* This is a very frequent error of M, and it is quite natural that Cicero should mention the date of his espousal of the cause of Crassus. The date has fallen out. Crassus had set out for Syria to carry on a war with the Parthians, under the ban of the tribune Ateius, who formally imprecated curses on the expedition. Man. conjectures that a motion must have been made in the senate to recall Crassus, and that it was then that Cicero espoused his cause.

consulibus] Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius.

interruptum] Cicero and Crassus were thrice estranged and thrice reconciled. Cicero provoked the first quarrel by ascribing to Pompeius the whole credit of the Servile war. The second quarrel arose out

of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and Crassus was certainly active in procuring the banishment of Cicero. After Cicero's return a reconciliation was effected, chiefly through the mediation of Publius, the son of Crassus. The third estrangement arose from the espousal of the cause of Gabinius by Crassus, and a reconciliation was effected just before the departure of Crassus for Syria. The warm language of friendship and esteem used by Cicero in this letter contrasts very strongly with the *O hominem nequam* of Ep. cxxx.

2. *voluntas tui colendi*] This objective gen. is found more frequently in the letters than in the other works of Cicero: cp. *laudis nostrae gratulatio . . . timoris consolatio*, Att. i. 17, 6.

pestes hominum] This is a remarkable coincidence with the language of the comic stage; this gen. *epexegeticus*, in which the

num laude aliena dolentium et te non numquam a me alienarunt et me aliquando immutarunt tibi. Sed exstitit tempus optatum mihi magis quam speratum, ut florentissimis tuis rebus mea perspicere posset et memoria nostrae voluntatis et amicitiae fides. Sum enim consecutus non modo ut domus tua tota sed ut cuncta civitas me tibi amicissimum esse cognosceret. Itaque et praestantissima omnium feminarum, uxor tua, et eximia pietate, virtute, gratia tui Crassi meis consiliis, monitis, studiis, actionibusque nituntur, et p.c. senatus populusque Romanus intellegit tibi absenti nihil esse tam promptum aut tam paratum quam in omnibus rebus, quae ad te pertineant, operam, curam, diligentiam, auctoritatem meam. 3. Quae sint acta quaeque agantur domesticorum tibi litteris declarari puto. De me sic existimes ac tibi persuadeas vehementer velim, non me repentina aliqua voluntate aut fortuito ad tuam amplitudinem meis officiis amplectendam incidisse, sed, ut primum forum attigerim, spectasse semper, ut tibi possem quam maxime esse coniunctus. Quo quidem ex tempore memoria teneo neque meam tibi observantiam neque mihi tuam summam benevolentiam ac liberalitatem defuisse. Si quae interciderunt non tam re quam suspicione violata, ea, cum fuerint et falsa et inania, sint evulsa ex omni

governing subst. contains the meaning of the expression, and has much of the effect of an adj., is found *only in the letters and in the comic poets*: cp. *scelus viri* = *vir scelestus*, Mil. v. 41; so Cur. v. 2, 16; Tusc. ii. 7, 60; Pers. ii. 2, 19; *frustum pueri*, Pers. v. 2, 72; *flagitium hominis*, Asin. ii. 4, 67; *monstrum mulieris*, Poen. i. 2, 61; *hominum mendicabula* = *mendicii*, Aul. iv. 8, 3; *deliciae pueri*, Pers. ii. 2, 22; *monstrum hominis*, Ter. Eun. iv. 42, 9. We have just the same construction as in ‘a rap of a fellow,’ a ‘bit of a boy’ (meaning ‘a little boy’), a ‘jewel of a woman,’ &c.; *allex viri* in Poen. v. 5, 21 either means ‘a hop o’ my thumb of a fellow,’ *allex* meaning ‘the great toe;’ or it is like the Irish expression, ‘the broth of a boy,’ *allex* being an old form of *allex*, the sediment of a costly fish sauce; possibly also = ‘a dirty brute.’ *Scelus hominis clamantes*, Att. xi. 9, 2 is, I think, another example of this construction, though it might be otherwise explained.

memoria . . . fides] ‘what a lively sense I have of our (former) amity, and what a sincere feeling of (present) friendliness.’

uxor tua] Tertulla. Suet. tell us that she intrigued with J. Caesar, Jul. 50.

Crassi tui] ‘Your sons,’ Marcus and Publius.

3. *incidisse sed*] ‘stumbled on the task of defending your dignity.’ I do not know of any other place where *incidere* used metaphorically is followed by *ad*.

forum attigerim] This is the regular expression to denote the appearance of a young Roman for the first time in public life on his assumption of the *toga virilis*.

si quae . . . violata] ‘if any interruptions of our friendship have occurred meanwhile, let these—based as they were not on fact but mere surmise, and therefore groundless and imaginary—be utterly uprooted from our minds;’ *violata* has much the same meaning as *violations*, which Cicero does not use. The use of the past participle with an indefinite pronoun unsupported by a substantive is rare; but the principle is the same as if he had written *si quae foedera violata intercederunt*, which would be a natural way of expressing *si quae foederum violationes intercederunt*. Süpfle (unnecessarily, I think) understands *violata* as being used in a preg-

memoria vitaeque nostra. Is enim tu vir es et eum me esse cupio, ut, quoniam in eadem rei publicae tempora incidimus, coniunctionem amicitiamque nostram utrique nostrum laudi sperem fore. 4. Quam ob rem tu, quantum tuo iudicio tribuendum esse nobis putes, statues ipse et, ut spero, statues ex nostra dignitate, ego vero tibi profiteor atque polliceor eximium et singulare meum studium in omni genere officii, quod ad honestatem et gloriam tuam spectet. In quo etiam si multi mecum contendunt, tamen cum reliquis omnibus tum Crassis tuis iudicibus omnes facile superabo: quos quidem ego ambo unice diligo, sed, in Marcum benevolentia pari, hoc magis sum Publico deditus, quod me, quamquam a pueritia sua semper, tamen hoc tempore maxime sicut alterum parentem et observat et diligit. 5. Has litteras velim existimes foederis habituras esse vim, non epistolae, meque ea, quae tibi promitto ac recipio, sanctissime esse observaturum diligentissimeque esse facturum. Quae a me suscepta defensio est te absente dignitatis tuae, in ea iam ego non solum amicitiae nostrae, sed etiam constantiae meae causa permanebo. Quam ob rem satis esse hoc tempore arbi-

trary sense for *facta cum aliqua violatione*, and compares Off. ii. 68, *erit id quod violatum est compensandum*.

is . . . sperem fore] 'Such is your character, and mine (I hope), as to lead me to hope,' &c.

4. *quantum tuo iudicio tribuendum esse putes*] A more natural expression would have been *tribuendum sit*. For the pleonasm, see note on Ep. li. § 3, *res erat in ea opinione ut putarent*.

ex nostra dignitate] 'with due regard to my position;' cp. *ex officii ratione rem considerare*, pro Quint. 48.

in M. benevolentia pari] Ablatives like this are really *ablativi modi*, and are not to be explained as absolute ablatives with the ellipse of the deficient participle of *esse*. 'With good wishes for M. as sincere, I am more completely devoted to P. for his constant affection and attention towards me,' &c. Such ablatives are very common in phrases like *re recenti*, Fam. xii. 29, 2; *salvis legibus*, Fam. v. 20, 9; *nullo adversario*, Att. ii. 23, 2; *magnis occupationibus eius*, Fam. vi. 13, 3. Very good examples are *summo dolore meo et desiderio*, Q. Fr. iii. 1, 9; *cuius dubia fortuna* ('as his position was insecure'), *timidius tecum agebamus*, Fam. xiii. 19, 2; *omni statu omnique populo* ('whatever my

state or the popular feeling may be'), Att. xi. 24, 1; *hac iuventute* (= cum talis sit iuventus), Att. x. 11, 2; *praesertim hoc genero* (cum talis sit gener meus), Att. xi. 14, 2; *tirone et collecticio exercitu*, Fam. vii. 3, 2; *aut aliqua rep. aut perdit*, Fam. vi. 1, 6; *florentissimis tuis rebus*, § 2 above. Other editors read *sed in Marco benevolentia impar*, which they explain, 'but in the mind of Marcus there is not the same kindly feeling for me;' but Cicero would not have described the feeling of the young Marcus Crassus for him by the word *benevolentia*, which suitably expresses the feeling of Cicero towards the youth. Süpfle, reading *sed in Marco ben. impar*, avoids this objection by rendering 'but in the case of Marcus my kindly feeling is not reciprocated fully;' but Cicero would rather have written *dispar* in that sense: cp. *sed contentio dispar*, Fam. i. 7, 10.

5. *Has litteras*] 'This document I should wish you to regard as a sort of covenant between us, not a mere letter.' *Litterae* is here clearly contrasted with *epistola*, with which it is often synonymous. In Q. Fr. iii. 1, 8 (Ep. cxlvii.), *litterae* and *epistola* are 'letter' and 'packet.'

tratus sum hoc ad te scribere, me, si quid ipse intellegerem aut ad voluntatem aut ad commodum aut ad amplitudinem tuam pertinere, mea sponte id esse facturum: sin autem quippiam aut a te essem admonitus aut a tuis, effecturum ut intellegeres nihil neque te scripssisse neque quemquam tuorum frustra ad me detulisse. Quam ob rem velim ita et ipse ad me scribas de omnibus minimis, maximis, mediocribus rebus, ut ad hominem amicissimum, et tuis praecipias, ut opera, consilio, auctoritate, gratia mea sic utantur in omnibus publicis, privatis, forensibus, domesticis, tuis, amicorum, hospitum, clientium tuorum negotiis, ut, quod eius fieri possit, praesentiae tuae desiderium eo labore minuatur.

CXXXII. TO QUINTUS, IN SOME SUBURBAN DWELLING
(Q. FR. II. 9 (11)).

ROME, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit, cum nihil quod scribat habeat, de libertate Tenediis negata, de laudibus Q. fratris et de Lucretii ac Salustii poematis.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Epistolam hanc convitio effigitarunt codicilli tui. Nam res quidem ipsa et is dies, quo tu es profectus, nihil mihi ad scribendum argumenti sane dabat. Sed quem ad modum, coram cum sumus, sermo nobis deesse non solet, sic epistolae nostrae debent

eo labore] 'by the labour thus imposed on me.' To correct *eo* of the mss to *meo*, as is usually done, weakens the sense of the passage, in my judgment.

1. *codicilli*] These were tablets made of thin pieces of wood (*codices*, *caudices*) and covered with wax. They were used for any sudden exigency requiring haste. Sometimes the words of a letter were hastily jotted down with a *stylus* on these *codicilli*, and then given to the *librarius* to copy on *charta* with a *calamus*. It was by *codicilli* that Acidinus (Fam. iv. 12, 2)

informed Servius at Athens that Marcellus had died of the wounds inflicted on him by the dagger of Magius Chilo. *Codicilli* were especially useful when an immediate *reply* was required. They corresponded to our reply-postcards. Cicero sent his *codicilli* to Balbus (Fam. vi. 18, 2) when he wanted immediate information about a law. In this case Quintus sent his *codicilli* to his brother, demanding 'in strong language' a reply. *Codicilli* were especially used for writing to those who were near at hand, Sen. Ep. lv. 11.

interdum alucinari. 2. Tenediorum igitur libertas securi Tenedia praecisa est, cum eos praeter me et Bibulum et Calidium et Favonium nemo defenderet. 3. De te a Magnetibus ab Sipylo mentio est honorifica facta, cum te unum dicerent postulationi L. Sestii Pansae restitisse. Reliquis diebus si quid erit quod te scire opus sit, aut etiam si nihil erit, tamen scribam cotidie aliquid. Pridie Id. neque tibi neque Pomponio deero. 4. Lucretii poemata ut

alucinari] 'to ramble on' without any consistent train of thought, just as Cicero and his brother chatted to each other when they met.

2. *Tenediorum*] The people of Tenedos petitioned the senate for Home Rule, but were refused. Cicero spoke in their behalf.

securi Tenedia] Tenes, the fabled eponym of Tenedos, was the author of a very severe code for the island. Adultery was to be punished by the immediate execution of the adulterer, and this sentence was carried out by order of Tenes in the case of his own son. *Securis Tenedia* is a proverbial expression for any 'short, sharp, and decisive' act or decision.

3. *L. Sestii Pansae*] Probably a publican, who had made some excessive demands of the Magnetes. The Magnetes of Lydia are called *Magnetes ab Sipylo*, to distinguish them from the Magnetes in Thessaly and in Caria.

neque tibi neque Pomponio] This must refer to some transaction in which Atticus and Quintus were jointly concerned, probably, therefore, affecting in some way the marriage portion of Pomponia.

4. *Lucretii . . . artis*] This is the celebrated criticism of Cicero on the poem of Lucretius, which had just been published, about four months after the death of the poet. It is the only place where Cicero mentions Lucretius, and he never quotes from the poet, though his philosophical works undoubtedly show acquaintance with the *sex libri de rerum natura*. It has been observed that it is not the practice of Cicero to quote from his contemporaries. He never mentions Catullus, who so prettily eulogized him in the poem (xliv.) beginning *disertissime Romuli nepotum*. Cicero twice imitates an expression of Catullus. He writes: *oricula infima molliorem*, Q. Fr. ii. 15, 4; cp. Cat. xxv. 2, *mollior . . . imula oricilla*; and again, Att. xvi. 6, 2, he speaks of *ocellos Italiae villulas meas*, which seems

to be a reminiscence of *Peninsularum, Sirmio, insularumque Ocellae*, Cat. xxxi. But he never mentions the poet, with whom he was linked as well by political sympathies as by their common acquaintanceship with Clodia. Hence, it is possible that the tradition mentioned by St. Jerome that Cicero edited the poem of Lucretius may be true, in spite of the silence of Cicero concerning Lucretius. Cicero had probably some time during the last four months read (or heard read to him) the *de rerum natura*, and had sent it to his brother on finishing it. From a passage in the *pro Sestio*, 123, *neque poetae quorum ego semper ingenia dilexi temporis meo defuerunt*, we may infer that Cicero made it a practice to lend the lustre of his name to the works of rising poets. It is very unlikely that Q. Cicero should have been the editor. St. Jerome would not have referred to him as *Cicero*, but as *Q. Cicero*, nor would the friends of Lucretius have been at all likely to submit the poem to Quintus. The criticism of Quintus, with which Cicero expresses his accord, was that Lucretius had not only much of the *genius* of Ennius and Attius, but also much of the *art* of the poets of the new school, among them even Catullus, who are fashioning themselves on the model of the Alexandrine poets, especially Callimachus and of Euphorion of Chalcis. This new school Cicero refers to as the *νεώτεροι* (Att. vii. 2, 1), and as *hi cantores Euphorionis* (Tusc. iii. 45). Their *ars* seemed to Cicero almost incompatible with the *ingenium* of the old school. This criticism on Lucretius is not only quite just from Cicero's point of view, but it is most pointed. Yet the editors from Victorius to Klotz will not let Cicero say what he thought. They insert a *non* either before *multis* or before *multae*, and thus deny him either *ingenium* or *ars*. The point of the judgment is that Lucretius shows the genius of the old school, and (what might seem to be incompatible with it) the art of

scribis, ita sunt, multis luminibus ingenii, multae tamen artis. ✓
Sed cum veneris. . . Virum te putabo, si Sallustii Empedoclea
legeris, hominem non putabo.

CXXXIII. TO QUINTUS, IN THE COUNTRY
(Q. FR. II. 10 (12)).

ROME, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri de Commageni regis causa a se acta et de litteris a Caesare ad se missis refert.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Gaudeo tibi iucundas esse meas litteras, nec tamen habuisssem scribendi nunc quidem ullum argumentum, nisi tuas accepiissem. Nam pridie Id. cum Appius senatum infrequentem coëgisset, tan-

the new. For a full discussion of this point, see Munro's *Lucretius*, Introd. to Notes, ii. The views above given are mainly his. Dr. Maguire (*Herm.* iv. 419) compares for *tamen* Ter. Ad. i. 2, 30, *alieniore aetate post faceret tamen*. See Adn. Crit.

artis] For this gen. see on Fam. vii. 1, 2 (Ep. cxi.). ㄥ x x v i i .

sed cum veneris . . .] Some such words as *plura de his poematis disseremus* are understood.

virum . . . hominem] 'If you get through Sallust's *Empedoclea* I shall look on you as a being possessed of the resolution of a man, and none of the weaknesses of humanity.' This antithesis between *vir* and *homo* is found elsewhere in Cicero, and must be read in the light shed on the words by the other passages. In Fam. v. 17, 3, Cicero writes to Sestius, 'I feel it my duty to exhort you *ut et hominem te et virum esse meminisses*;' and he goes on to explain that by this he means that—(1) Sestius should remember that as a *homo* he is subject to the chances and

changes of this mortal life, that he is not exempt from the lot of humanity, and (2) that as a *vir* he is bound to oppose a bold front to fortune. Again, he says of Marius, *tulit dolorem ut vir, et, ut homo, maiorem ferre sine causa necessaria noluit*, Tusc. ii. 53, 'he bore the pain like a man, but, as not being above the weaknesses of humanity, he did not wish to suffer greater pain without any imperative reason for it.' In antithesis with *vir esse* the meaning of *homo esse* always is 'to be subject to the ordinary weaknesses of humanity; by itself *homo esse* means—(a) 'to have the feelings, or the sense of a man;' cf. Att. ii. 2, 2 (Ep. xxviii.); (b) 'to have the weaknesses of a mortal,' as *ei mariendum fuit, quoniam homo nata fuerat*, Fam. iv. 5, 4.

Sallustii] Of this author of a poem on the philosophy of Empedocles nothing is known.

1. *Nam*] Cicero has no news to tell Quintus, because the meeting of the senate ended abruptly.

tum fuit frigus, ut pipulo, convicio coactus sit nos dimittere.

* *pipulo, convicio*] 'noisy clamour,' i.e. of the senators. The ms reading is *populi convicio*. Boot (*Obss. Critt. ad M. T. Ciceronis Epistolas: Amstelodami, 1880*) justly observes that he does not understand how the consul was forced by the clamour of the people outside to dismiss the senate. He would read *communi convicio*; but my conjecture is far less rash: *pipulo* is a Plautine word, and therefore very likely to be used by Cicero; it would almost certainly be mistaken by the scribe for *populo*, which he would naturally change to *populi*, to obtain a construction. *Asyndeton* is quite a characteristic feature in the letters of Cicero, especially *asyndeton* between two words. For two words with *asyndeton*, cp. *patrimonio fortuna*, Att. xi. 9, 3; *causae meae voluntati memorum*, Att. iii. 13, 1; *querentibus postulantis*, Att. v. 21, 12; *adsunt queruntur*, Div. in Caec. 11; *expulerit relegarit*, Sest. 29; *officiis liberalitate*, Fam. xiii. 24, 3; *vultu taciturnitati*, Fam. iii. 8, 2; *gratissimo iucundissimo*, Fam. xiii. 28, 3; *studiis beneficiis*, Fam. vii. 5, 1. We read in Q. Fr. ii. 1, that the hired roughs of Clodius, *a graecostasi et gradibus clamorem satis magnum sustulerunt*, and that the consequence was the breaking up of the meeting of the senate. But in that case they were hired by Clodius to do what they did. How could the coldness of the weather bring the people outside to break up the meeting of the senate 'with abuse,' *convicio*? But it is quite credible that the senators themselves should have shouted down every attempt to put a question to the house with abusive clamour calling on the consul to dismiss the house. Each senator wished to go away on account of the cold, but did not wish to leave behind him a house to pass measures unacceptable to him. With this passage must be discussed the words at the end of the letter, *ut summum periculum esset ne Appio suae aedes urerentur*. Here, again, Boot asks what is the meaning? It is true that in seasons of great cold there is a greater danger of conflagrations, because larger fires are kept. But why should the consul's house be in more peril than houses of other people? Man. explains, by observing that in the house of the consul, which was frequented by crowds of visitors, and by those who would escort him home from the senate, a very large fire would naturally be kept. But such

an explanation is manifestly puerile. This being so, I am disposed to explain the two passages—the one in the beginning of the letter, and the one at the end—as jocular, or at least covert allusions to the lack of interest in public affairs, the inactivity and apathy of the senate, and the dullness of the business before them. The first passage would then mean 'Appius could only get together a small meeting of the senate, and when it did meet, such was the utter dearth of interest, that it ended in noisy clamour for a dismissal of the house.' The sentence at the end would mean, 'The barometer of public feeling is so near freezing point that Appius's house runs a great risk of being frost-bitten,' that is, utterly deserted by *salutatores* and *deductores*. For examples of *frigus* in the metaphorical sense of 'dullness,' 'apathy,' 'stagnation,' cp. *si Parthi vos nihil calfaciunt nos hic frigore rigescimus*, Fam. viii. 6, 4; *Curioni tribunatus congelat*, ib. 3; and the synonymous phrase, ib. 4, *veternus civitatem occupasset*; so also *metuo ne frigeas in hibernis* ('have nothing to do') . . . *quamquam vos istic satis calere* ('are kept pretty busy') *audio*, Fam. vii. 10, 2. Cp. also Ov. Fast. ii. 856, *virque tuo Tereus frigore laetus erit*. *Uri* = 'to be frost-bitten,' is common enough; Cicero uses it in this sense in one passage, where it is as susceptible of misapprehension as it is here, *pernoctant venatores in nive; in montibus uri se patiuntur*, Tusc. ii. 40. This explanation, moreover, gives a far more appropriate meaning to *quamquam* in the sentence at the end of the letter. 'I shall give you the news of every day. Yet [there is really nothing to tell, for] the barometer of public interest is so near freezing point that Appius's house seems likely to be frost-bitten.' It is to be observed that both at the beginning and the end of the letter the mention of *frigus* is introduced to account for the dearth of news. *Frigus* might also be used in the metaphorical sense of *disfavour* (towards Appius); cp. *maiorum ne quis amicus Frigore te feriat*, Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 62; *limina frigescant*, Pers. i. 108; to which the Dictt. add several examples in Quintilian and Pliny. But this use of *frigus* would not account for *quamquam*, and is not so characteristic of the tone of Cicero's letters. *Infrequentem* is sometimes explained as 'extraordinary.' (See L. S.)

2. De Commageno, quod rem totam discusseram, mirifice mihi et per se et per Pomponium blanditur Appius. Videt enim, hoc genere dicendi si utar in ceteris, Februarium sterilem futurum. Eumque lusi iocose satis, neque solum illud extorsi oppidulum eius †quod erat positum in Euphrati Zeugmate† praeterea togam sum eius praetextam, quam erat adeptus Caesare consule, magno hominum risu cavillatus. 3. 'Quod vult,' inquam 'renovari honores eosdem, quo minus togam praetextam quotannis interpolet, decernendum nihil censeo. Vos autem homines nobiles, qui Bostrenum praetextatum non ferebatis, Commagenum feretis?' Genus vides

2. *Commageno*] Antiochus, King of Commagene, whose capital was Samosata, now *Samsoun*, the birth-place of Lucian. When Syria was made a province, at the end of the Mithridatic war, Antiochus received from Pompeius this little division of the kingdom of Syria.

discusseram] 'pulled to pieces,' that is, 'frustrated,' 'brought to nought.'

sterilem] 'productive of no profit to him.' If Cicero opposed and defeated all the petitions of foreign nations, for the hearing of which Feb. was reserved, there would be no *douceurs* for him from successful applicants.

oppidulum] We may infer that Antiochus had two requests to make—that he might be allowed to include, or retain in his dominion a certain town on the Euphrates, and that the honour, granted to him in the consulship of Caesar, of wearing a *toga praetexta*, should be confirmed by a decree of the senate.

†*quod . . . Zeugmate*†] I have obelised these words. One might read *Zeugma*, and render, 'a little village, which had been his, built on the Euphrates;' or else, reading *positum in Euphratis Ζεύγματι*, we might understand *Ζεύγμα* to mean 'a pier or landing-place' on which some little hamlet was built. One might even retain *Euphrati*, and regard it as the genitive; one might expect to find *Euphrati* beside *Euphratis*, as *Ulixi* and *Ulixei* beside *Ulixis*. Billerbeck would take *Ζεύγματι* in the other sense of 'bridge.' He says that at the site of Bir, or Birtha, there was a bridge over the Euphrates in the time of Alexander, Thapsacus having been before this the customary place of crossing. The town was called *Zeugma*, from the bridge. It would be natural that the senate should refuse to detach from the province of Syria a town so situated.

3. *Quod vult*] 'As to his petition for a renewal of the honours he got in the consulship of Caesar, to save himself the expense of dyeing his *praetexta* anew every year, I am against a decree to that effect. Will you, who would not have the tetrarch of Bostra clothed with the *praetexta* endure the Commagene in that robe of state?' Such is the explanation of Sch. and Billerb. There does not appear to be much play of fancy in the passage. Unless the joke lies in some allusion to the unknown tetrarch or princeling of Bozra, whom (Cicero says) the Roman nobles would not endure to see clad in the Roman robe of state, I see no joke in the passage, except that Cicero affects to regard Antiochus as seeking a decree of the senate to refurbish his robe, to save himself the expense of redyeing it every year. There would be more humour in the words of Cicero if *renovari* could mean, 'to be put on a new footing.' Thus Cicero would say, 'as regards his petition to have his distinction *put on a new footing* (i.e. given to him absolutely without the necessity of yearly renewal), to save himself the expense of a yearly redyeing (i.e. a yearly embassy to Rome to solicit renewal), I am against such a decree.' The same sense would be got by reading with Lamb. and Ern.: *quod non vult renovari honores eosdem*, 'as to his request not to have a renewal of his distinction on the same terms,' that is, 'not to have it renewed for a year, but in perpetuity.' This is the reading which Wieland translates, and is, perhaps, the most probable solution of the difficulty, though it is very daring to insert *non*. We can hardly hope to get any nearer to the meaning without knowing something of 'the Bozran.' Bostra, the Bozra of Isaiah, was a considerable town in Arabia Petraea.

et locum iocandi. Multa dixi in ignobilem regem, quibus totus est explosus. Quo genere commotus, ut dixi, Appius totum me amplexatur. Nihil est enim facilius quam reliqua discutere. Sed non faciam ut illum offendam, ne imploret fidem Iovis Hospitalis, Graios omnes convocet, per quos mecum in gratiam redit. 4. Theopompo satis faciemus. De Caesare fugerat me ad te scribere. Video enim quas tu litteras exspectaris. Sed ille scripsit ad Balbum, fasciculum illum epistolarum, in quo fuerat mea et Balbi, totum sibi aqua madidum redditum esse, ut ne illud quidem sciat, meam fuisse aliquam epistolam. Sed ex Balbi epistola pauca verba intellexerat, ad quae rescripsit his verbis: 'De Cicerone te video quiddam scripsisse, quod ego non intellexi: quantum autem coniectura consequabar, id erat eius modi, ut magis optandum quam sperandum putarem.' 5. Itaque postea misi ad Caesarem eodem illo exemplo litteras. Locum autem illius de sua egestate ne sis aspernatus. Ad quem ego rescripsi nihil esse quod posthac arcae nostrae fiducia conturbaret, lusique in eo genere et familiariter et cum dignitate. Amor autem eius erga nos perferatur omnium nuntiis singularis. Litterae quidem ad id, quod exspectas, fere cum tuo reditu iungentur, reliqua singulorum dierum scribemus ad te, si modo tabellarios tu praebebis. Quamquam eius modi frigus impendebat, ut summum periculum esset ne Appio suae aedes urerentur.

totus est explosus] 'completely, utterly laughed out of court.'

quo genere] = *cuius generis dictis*.

Iovis Hospitalis] Ζεύς Ἐπίουος. We must infer that certain Greeks had been instrumental in bringing about a reconciliation between Cicero and Appius. If he broke with Appius he would offend these Greeks, and so the god who 'protects them.'

4. *fugerat me*] 'I forgot;,' so *fugit me ratio*, 'I was mistaken,' in Catull. x. 29. This meaning of *fugere* is very common in Cicero, and very rare in other writers.

magis optandum] Caesar writes to Balbus that he could see that Balbus had said something about Quintus Cicero in his letter; that he could not make out the meaning; that, if his guess at the meaning was right, it announced a fact which he (Caesar) might wish, but hardly hope, to be true. The announcement was probably that Quintus had determined to transfer his services from Pompeius to Caesar. Nothing could

be more courteous than Caesar's way of receiving this news.

5. *Locum*] I cannot understand why the editors should agree in changing the ms *locum* to *iocum*. There is not a particle of evidence that Caesar's letter was playful: the little extract we have from it here is full of dignified courtesy. The 'passage about his poverty,' *locum illius de sua egestate*, was, no doubt, in the same strain. He said with regret that he could not promise Quintus an El Dorado in his camp. Cicero advises his brother not to look with disfavour on that passage—not to let it deter him from joining Caesar—and tells him that in reply he has let Caesar know how poor they were—how he (Caesar) 'must not become bankrupt through any reliance on his (Cicero's) resources.'

Quamquam] 'Yet,' though I promise you a regular diary. See note on *pipulo*, *convivio*, § 1.

CXXXIV. TO CAESAR, IN GAUL (FAM. VII. 5).

ROME, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero C. Trebatium Testam iure consultum diligentissime C. Caesari Galliarum procos. commendat.

CICERO CAESARI IMP. S. D.

1. Vide quam mihi persuaserim te me esse alterum non modo in iis rebus, quae ad me ipsum, sed etiam in iis, quae ad meos pertinent. C. Trebatium cogitaram quocumque exirem mecum ducere, ut eum meis omnibus studiis beneficiis quam ornatissimum domum reducerem. Sed postea quam et Pompeii commoratio diuturnior erat quam putaram et mea quaedam tibi non ignota dubitatio aut impedire profectionem meam videbatur aut certe tardare, vide quid mihi sumpserim. Coepi velle ea Trebatium exspectare a te, quae sperasset a me, neque mehercule minus ei prolixè de tua voluntate promisi, quam eram solitus de mea polliceri. 2. Casus vero mirificus quidam intervenit quasi vel testis opinionis meae vel sponsor humanitatis tuae. Nam cum de hoc ipso Trebatio cum Balbo

1. *te me esse alterum*] 'that you are my *alter ego*;' cp. *me alterum se fore*, Att. iv. 1, 7.

C. Trebatium] This is the famous jurist, C. Trebatius Testa, to whom seventeen letters of Cicero are extant in Fam. vii., and to whom is addressed Hor. Sat. ii. 1.

quocumque exirem] Cicero was *legatus* to Pompeius, and expected to be sent somewhere on foreign service. Pompeius still held the commission for the corn supply, and the governorship of Spain, with which he was invested by the Trebonian law of 699 (55).

studiis beneficiis] This *asyndeton* is very common in Cic. Epp. This strongly confirms the reading *pipulo convicio* in the last letter.

dubitatio] doubts about what steps Clodius might take in his absence.

prolixè . . . polliceri] This use of adverbs instead of adjectives, especially with verbs of promising, is not rare in the letters: cp. *liberalissime polliceri*, Att. v. 13, 2; *sperabis omnia optime*, Fam. iv. 13, 7; *cum optime sentiremus*, Fam. iv. 2, 3. Sall. has *bene polliceri*, Cat. 41; and Caesar, *largiter posse*, B. G. i. 18.

2. *Balbo*] This was L. Cornelius Balbus, a native of Gades, who had served against Sertorius, and had been made a Roman citizen by Pompeius, whose act Cicero defended in the extant speech *pro Balbo*. He was consul in 714 (b. c. 40), and was the first provincial who reached the consulship.

nostro loquerer accuratius domi meae, litterae mihi dantur a te, quibus in extremis scriptum erat. 'M. †itfuium, quem mihi commendas, vel regem Galliae faciam, vel hunc Leptae delega, si vis. Tu ad me alium mitte quem ornem.' Sustulimus manus et ego et Balbus: tanta fuit opportunitas, ut illud nescio quid non fortuitum, sed divinum videretur. Mitto igitur ad te Trebatium atque ita mitto, ut initio mea sponte, post autem invitatu tuo mittendum duxerim. 3. Hunc, mi Caesar, sic velim omni tua comitate complectare, ut omnia, quae per me possis adduci ut in meos conferre velis, in unum hunc conferas. De quo tibi homine haec spondeo non illo vetere verbo meo, quod, cum ad te de Milone scripsissem, iure lusisti, sed more Romano, quo modo homines non inepti loquuntur, probiorem hominem, meliorem virum, pudentiolem esse neminem. Accedit etiam, quod familiam ducit in iure civili, singulari memoria, summa scientia. Huic ego neque tribunatum neque praefecturam neque ullius beneficii certum nomen peto, bene-

2. M. †itfuium] See *Adn. Crit.* It seems quite impossible to restore the lost name here. Perhaps the best guess is *Mescinium Rufum*, the conjecture of Schütz. He was afterwards a quaestor of Cicero in Cilicia; Lepta was afterwards *praefectus fabrum* to Cicero. He may, as Mr. Watson suggests, have accompanied Q. Cicero from Caesar's camp to M. Cicero's in Cilicia. Caesar writes jocularly, 'I will make him king of Gaul, or else do you hand him over to Lepta (your friend, who is with me), and send me someone else to provide for.'

sustulimus manus] in wonder.

ita . . . ut] 'with a feeling that my original readiness to present him to you is greatly confirmed by your subsequent invitation to me' (to introduce my friends). This is one of these delicate uses of *ita . . . ut*, noticed in vol. I²., *Introd.* p. 65.

invitatu] Cp. *involatus* (Fam. vi. 6, 7); *reflatus* (Att. xii. 2, 1); *itus* (Att. xv. 5, 3); and add the word *invitatus* in vol. I²., *Introd.* p. 70.

3. *vetere verbo*] 'hackneyed phrase.' This is best explained by another passage with which it has not, so far as I know, been hitherto compared. In recommending Dionysius to Att. he describes him as *cum doctum . . . tum sane plenum officii . . . frugi hominem*, ac, ne libertinum laudare videar, *plane virum bonum*, Att. vii. 4, 1: again, we read

eius libertum hominem frugi et modestum . . . tibi commendo maiorem in modum, Fam. xiii. 70, 1. Hence *frugi* or *bonae frugi* may be supposed to be *voces propriae* of recommendatory letters. Some such conventional phrase it was in Cicero's letter which was ridiculed by Caesar. As in Att. vii. 4, 1, he corrects the epithet *frugi* by the words *ac . . . plane virum bonum*, so here he says he will not recommend Trebatius in the conventional phrase for which Caesar rallied him; but he will say *probiorem hominem meliorem virum esse neminem*. This plain and unambiguous statement, he says, is made *more Romano* 'with old-fashioned, outspoken bluntness,' *quo modo homines non inepti loquuntur*, 'in the language of men of the world:' *ineptus* is explained by Cicero himself in De Or. ii. 17, qui aut tempus quid postulet non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut se ostentat, aut eorum quibuscum est vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est, *is ineptus esse dicitur*.

familiam ducit] 'he is at the top of his profession.'

tribunatum] sc. *militum*.

praefecturam] sc. *castrorum*, or *fabrorum*, or *sociorum*.

beneficii certum nomen] 'any specific favour;' the metaphor is perhaps from book-keeping.

volentiam tuam et liberalitatem peto, neque impedio quo minus, si tibi ita placuerit, etiam hisce eum ornes gloriolae insignibus: totum denique hominem tibi ita trado, de manu, ut aiunt, in manum tuam istam et victoria et fide praestantem. Simus enim putidiusculi quamquam per te vix licet, verum, ut video, licebit. Cura ut valeas, et me, ut amas, ama.

hisce . . . gloriolae insignibus] 'these little marks of distinction.' *Gloriola* is found in Fam. v. 12, 9 (Ep. cix.).

Simus . . . licebit] I have accepted Ern.'s *quamquam* for *quam*, as being a very slight change, and in my mind quite essential to the sense. Cicero says, 'let me be somewhat of a bore (in my importunity); though, indeed, such is your kindness (in *inviting* me to present my friends) it is hardly excusable; yet, I can see, you will excuse the liberty.' *Putidiusculus* means 'rather tiresome,' not 'more tiresome;' so *quam* cannot be right; 'more tiresome than is hardly allowable' is nonsense; 'somewhat exacting, which your kindness ought to prevent' (Watson) demands *quod* for *quam*. Boot (Obs., Critt., 1880) would read *quod*. He thinks the words refer *only* to the *last* expression, *manum tuam istam et victoria et fide praestantem*: the word *putidiusculi* would then mean 'tasteless,' 'vulgar,' 'fulsome.' I do not think this is the meaning at all; and even when Boot has made many

violent changes in the words, I cannot see that the meaning which he desires is to be found. He reads *sumus enim putidiusculi, quod per te vix licet, per hunc utique licebit*, and explains *utimur locutione aliquanto putidiore, quod vix licet quatenus tecum mihi sermo est, qui ipse oratione simplici et incompta uteris, quatenus sermo est de Trebatio certe mihi licebit*. Why should Caesar excuse a fulsome expression because it was used in recommending Trebatius? For *verum, ut video licebit*, cp. *mihi pro coniunctione nostra vel peccare apud te in scribendo licet*, Fam. xiii. 18, 2. Hence *vix licet* means *it is hardly excusable, allowable, it is rather a liberty*, and *licebit* means *you will let me take the liberty*. The word *putidiusculi* means 'a bit of a bore,' and refers not only to the importunity of Cicero, but to the *largeness* of his demand, in making over to Caesar his whole responsibility to Trebatius, and declaring that he will not be content with little distinctions, but will have these and solid benefits besides.

CXXXV. FROM CICERO TO QUINTUS

(Q. FR. II. 11 (13)).

ROME, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri de rebus Id. Febr. in senatu actis, de Callisthene et Philisto historicis scribit.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

Risi 'nivem atram,' teque hilari animo esse et prompto ad iocandum valde me iuvat. De Pompeio adsentior tibi vel tu potius mihi. Nam, ut scis, iam pridem istum canto Caesarem. Mihi crede, in sinu est, neque ego discingor. 2. Cognosce nunc

1. 'nivem atram'] It is quite impossible to ascertain what this may mean without the letter of Quintus to which it alludes. The only place in Cicero which could possibly throw a light on this passage is Acad. ii. 72, *Anaxagoras nivem nigram dixit esse. Ferres me, si ego idem dicerem? Tu, ne si dubitarem quidem. At quis est? Num hic sophistes? Sic enim appellantur ii qui ostentationis aut quaestus causa philosophabantur: maxima fuit et gravitatis et ingenii gloria.* Perhaps, then, Cicero had told his brother that Trebatius was going to Caesar, and Quintus had said, in reply, 'he will have to exercise his legal acumen in proving, like a second Anaxagoras, that the British snow (which he will encounter in abundance) is black.' But this is, indeed, far-fetched, and still more so the attempted explanation of Man., that Q. said he would soon have to encounter with Caesar snow that would be *atram, quasi tristem minimeque iucundam*. It seems far more probable that *nivem atram* refers to incompatible things supposed to co-exist. Q. may have written, 'if you expect constancy (or sincerity) in Pompeius, you might as well expect to meet black snow': cp. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. 1. 59, 60:

'That is, hot ice and wondrous strange black snow;
How shall we find the concord of this discord?'

Again, it seems quite possible that we have in *nivem atram* a confirmation of my theory of the meaning of *frigus* in the

last letter to Quintus. It is natural to look for the meaning of Q.'s expression in the letter which he was, presumably, answering. Perhaps, then, in reference to the *frigus* spoken of in Cicero's last letter, Quintus may have replied: 'You describe to me not a *nix alba*, but a *nix atra*; not a season of real snow, but of figurative gloom and dulness.' Or, referring to his brother's success with the senate (described in last letter to Quintus), he might have said: 'I believe you could persuade the senate that snow was black.' But perhaps Sch. is right in suggesting *tutius est fateri nos nescire qualis ille Quinti iocus fuerit*.

canto] 'I have been this long time singing the praises of this same Caesar,' in the speeches *de prov. cons.*, *pro Sestio*, in *Vatinium*, &c.

in sinu est] 'We are bosom friends': cp. *Balbus* . . . *in oculis fero*: Q. Fr. iii. 1, 9. Having used the word *bosom* in the phrase *in sinu est*, Cicero adds: 'I never loose my girdle (lest he should fall out of my bosom),' a playful way of saying: 'I, for my part, am careful never to do anything which might lead to an estrangement between us': cp. the advice of Polonius, in *Hamlet*—

'Those friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel.'

Hence we may infer, that in the words *de Pompeio adsentior tibi*, Cicero means: 'You are right; we cannot depend on Pompeius alone.'

Idus. Decimus erat Caelio dies. Domitius iudices ad numerum non habuit. Vereor ne homo taeter et ferus, Pola Servius, ad accusationem veniat. Nam noster Caelius valde oppugnatur a gente Clodia. Certi nihil est adhuc, sed veremur. Eodem igitur die Tyrii est senatus datus frequens, frequentes contra Syriaci publicani. Vehementer vexatus Gabinus, exagitati etiam a Domitio publicani, quod eum essent cum equis persecuti. L. noster Lamia paullo ferocius, cum Domitius dixisset: 'Vestra culpa haec acciderunt, equites Romani: dissolute enim iudicatis,' 'Nos iudicamus, vos laudatis,' inquit. Actum est eo die nihil: nox diremit. 3. Comitialibus diebus, qui Quirinalia sequuntur, Appius interpretatur non impediri se lege Pupia, quo minus habeat senatum, et, quod Gabinia sanctum sit, etiam cogi ex Kal. Febr. usque ad Kal. Mart. legatis senatum cotidie dare: ita putantur detrudi

2. Idus] Sc. *Februarias*, Feb. 13th.

Decimus] 'The 13th was the day on which Caelius was to appear' (i.e. was the tenth day from his arraignment). Asconius tells us that ten days intervened between arraignment and trial of an accused, *eum L. Cassius praetor decimo die, ut mos est, adesse iussisset*. This was the second trial of Caelius, the friend and correspondent of Cicero: the first was the occasion on which he was defended by Cicero, 698 (B. C. 56). The praetor in the first trial was Cn. Domitius Calvinus. The trial here referred to was before Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, praetor 700 (54). The praetor could not get a panel of jurors, and so the trial had to begin afresh.

Pola Servius] Man. remarks that it is strange that the *praenomen* should follow the *cognomen*.

oppugnatur] Caelius, in a letter written in 704 (50), complains that Appius Pulcher, the brother of Clodius, urged Pola Servius to accuse him. Servius seems to have been a professional prosecutor.

Eodem igitur die] 'Well, to come back to the 13th, on the same day.' *Igitur* is often used by Cicero in resuming an interrupted topic, or summing up a preceding train of thought.

Gabinus] who, as proconsul, was the predecessor of Crassus in the government of Syria.

Domitio] the consul.

laudatis] 'are witnesses to character.'
L. Lamia was a leading member of the

equites, who had befriended Cicero at the time of his exile.

3. *Quirinalia*] February 17th. The *Lex Pupia* seems to have enacted that the senate could not meet during January for any other purpose than the hearing of foreign embassies, until these embassies were all heard. The *Lex Gabinia*, 687 (67) provided that the foreign embassies should have audience of the senate every day in February. Appius held that he was not violating the Pupian law, because he was not holding a senate for any purpose but the hearing of the foreign embassies; and that the express provision of the Gabinian law bound him to hold a senate every day in February until the foreign embassies were all heard. The *dies comitiales* in February were only six in number, and they all came after the 17th. Thus in six days in February it was lawful to hold *comitia*, and also lawful to convene the senate; but the *comitia* and the senate could not be held both on the same day. If then the Gabinian law bound the consul to hold a senate every day in February till the foreign embassies were heard, no election could be held in February. But if *cotidie* meant 'on every legitimate day,' that is, on every day which was not a *dies comitalis*, then the six *dies comitiales* could be used by them to bring before the people the action of Gabinus in restoring Ptolemaeus Auletes on his own responsibility to the throne of Egypt.

comitia in mensem Martium. Sed tamen his comitialibus tribuni pl. de Gabinio se acturos esse dicunt. Omnia colligo, ut novi scribam aliquid ad te. Sed, ut vides, res me ipsa deficit. 4. Itaque ad Callisthenem et ad Philistum redeo, in quibus te video volutatum. Callisthenes quidem vulgare et notum negotium, [quem ad modum aliquot Graeci locuti sunt]. Siculus ille capitalis, creber, acutus, brevis, paene pusillus Thucydides, sed utros eius habueris libros—duo enim sunt corpora—an utrosque nescio. Me magis de Dionysio delectat. Ipse est enim veterator magnus, et per-familiaris Philisto [Dionysius]. Sed quod ascribis, aggredierisne ad historiam? Me auctore potes. Et quoniam tabellarios subministras, hodierni diei res gestas Lupercalibus habebis. Oblecta te cum Cicerone nostro quam bellissime.

[in mensem Martium] See notes on Q. Fr. ii. 7 (9), Ep. cxix. In the year 699 (55) everything had been done irregularly, through the high-handed action of the consuls Pompeius and Crassus, who had been elected, not at the regular time, but *ex interregno*. Hence we read, Ep. cxix. § 3, in the end of February about the approaching election of praetors, who ought to have been designated in the previous July. The consuls of this year also were elected after an *interregnum*, and they had now to hold the election of the praetors, who had not been designated the year before. M. Cato, who had been so unfairly defeated in 699 (Ep. cxix.), was one of the praetors for this year.

[Sed tamen] In spite of the opposition of Appius, the tribunes declare they will use the *dies comitiales* to discuss the legality of Gabinus' restoration of Ptolemy. Among the tribunes, the most active was C. Memmius, who afterwards prosecuted Gabinus *de repetundis*: Q. Fr. iii. 1, 15.

4. [Callisthenem] Callisthenes, a native of Olynthus (B. C. 387–357), mentioned above in a letter to Lucceius, Fam. v. 12 (Ep. cix.), had written a history of the Trojan war and of the expeditions of Alexander the Great, whom he accompanied to Asia.

[Philistum] Philistus, a Syracusan, born about 435 B. C., enjoyed great favour at the court of Dionysius the elder. He was banished by him, but restored by Dionysius the younger. He wrote a history of Sicily, and a life of Dionysius the elder in four books, and of Dionysius the younger in two.

[quem ad modum . . . sunt] I have bracketed these words. It is not likely that Cicero should here characterize as 'a Greek remark' a phrase which he uses without comment elsewhere, e.g. *lentum negotium*, Att. i. 12, 1; *negotia et lenta et inania*, Att. v. 18, 4; (hominem) *sine sensu sine sapore, elinguem, tardum, inhumanum negotium*, Orat. post red. in sen. 14. Possibly *locuti sunt* only should be bracketed. Then the meaning would be 'a hackneyed common-place piece of goods, like many of his countrymen.' This is rendered possible by the fact that Philistus is called *Siculus ille*, not strictly one of the *Graeci*. But such a comparison between *Graeci* and *Siculi* is out of place here, and Cicero could hardly have spoken of the Greek writers as a class in a depreciatory tone.

[capitalis] 'A writer of the first rank,' a very unusual sense. *Capitalis* generally means 'pernicious,' 'fatal,' when applied to a person.

[creber] 'terse,' 'pithy.' This, too, is a rare usage. One meets *creber sententiis* and such phrases, but not elsewhere *creber* alone.

[acutus . . . Thucydides] 'sagacious, concise, almost a miniature Thucydides.' Cp. *habuimus in Cumano quasi pusillam Romam*, Att. v. 2. 2.

[Ipse] 'Dionysius is a regular Machiavelli, and is thoroughly known to Philistus.'

[quod adscribis] 'Touching your post-script; so you are going to essay history. I advise you to do so.'

[Lupercalibus] On February 15th.

CXXXVI. FROM CICERO TO TREBATIUS TESTA

(FAM. VII. 6).

ROME, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero C. Trebatium, quem C. Caesari commendare non desistit, hortatur, ut deposito nimio urbis desiderio, quod secutus sit, id consilium persequatur in provincia-que maneat.

CICERO S. D. TREBATIO.

1. In omnibus meis epistolis, quas ad Caesarem aut ad Balbum mitto, legitima quaedam est accessio commendationis tuae nec ea vulgaris, sed cum aliquo insigni indicio meae erga te benevolentiae. Tu modo ineptias istas et desideria urbis et urbanitatis depone, et, quo consilio profectus es, id adsiduitate et virtute consequere. Hoc tibi tam ignoscemus nos amici quam ignoverunt Medae,

quae Corinthum arcem altam habebant, matronae opulentae, optimates :

1. *legitima quaedam accessio comm.*] 'There is a kind of statutory (i.e. regular) rider, consisting of a recommendation of you.' *Accessio* is a technical term for something added (cp. *luckpenny*) to a payment, like ἐπιθήκη (Adv. Vesp. 1391), and is opposed to *decessio*, 'an abatement'; it is called *legitima*, because it is as regular as if it were ordained by statute. *Commendationis* is the *gen. expegeticus* (Draeg. i. 467).

nec ea vulgaris] Not in the *veteri verbo* mentioned in Ep. cxxxiv.

ineptias et desideria] 'Foolish longing for the city and city life.' For the ἐν διὰ δυοῖν see note on Att. i. 5, 1 (lp. i.). For the use of the *plural* cp. Introd. I², p. 60.

ignoscemus . . . Medae] Cicero, as well as Ennius, from whom he quotes, seems to take the difficult passage in *Medea*, 214 ff., beginning

Κορίνθιαι γυναῖκες, ἐξήλθον δόμων,

in a very strange fashion. The meaning

of the Euripidean passage, as understood by Cicero, may be thus loosely represented: You must not condemn me through any prejudice against those who leave their country; 'home-keeping youth have ever homely wits.' The whole train of thought is this: 'We shall excuse your absence on the grounds on which the

'Honourable dames that softly lived in Corinth's lofty keep

pardoned Medea for leaving her fatherland when she, with hands all gypsum-white (extended in entreaty), persuaded them not to blame her for her flight from Corinth; for that

"Many a man in foreign far land hath to wealth and honour come,
Many a poor and craven spirit rusts in scathe and scorn at home,"

in which class you would certainly have taken your place, if we had not forced you from Rome.' Accordingly, Cicero (with Ennius) seems to have understood the Euripidean passage thus (I enclose

quibus illa manibus gypsatissimis persuasit, ne sibi vitio illae verterent, quod abesset a patria: nam

*multi suam rem bene gessere et publicam patria procul:
multi, qui domi aetatem agerent, propterea sunt improbat.*

Quo in numero tu certe fuisses, nisi te extrusissemus. 2. Sed plura scribemus alias. Tu, qui ceteris cavere didicisti, in Britannia ne ab essedariis decipiaris caveto, et, quoniam Medeam coepi agere, illud semper memento:

Qui ipsi sibi sapiens prodesse non quit, nequiquam sapit.

Cura ut valeas.

in brackets the necessary *supplenda*): 'Dames of Corinth, I have come out [to plead my cause with you]; think not little of me [as a foreigner]; I know many who have [left their own country, and in the country of their adoption have] gained high respect both in private and in public; while the easy-going [who have remained at home] have got the evil report of sluggishness, for men's judgments are shallow.' It is to be observed that this view of the passage is not inconsistent with the Greek, and gives a possible meaning to the Euripidean passage; save that Ennius and Cicero seem to have taken ἐξῆλθον δόμων as meaning 'I left my father's palace in Colchis,' which is certainly not the meaning of the words: I have put forward my own view of the meaning of this passage in *Hermathena*, No. x. p. 26. A good deal must be *sub-auditum* in every interpretation of it.

gypsatissimis] *Gypsum* was used by actors to whiten the hands. This is a

characteristic instance of Cicero's *penchant* for superlatives.

multi] The verse *quae Corinthum*, &c., is a *trochaicus octonarius*, or *troch. tetram.*; so is the verse beginning *multi qui domi*. The verse *multi . . . procul* is a *trochaicus septenarius*, or *troch. tetram. cat.*; and so is the verse *qui ipsi sibi . . . sapit*, in which verse *sapiens* is two syllables, as *suam* is one syllable in *multi suam rem . . . procul*.

2. *alias*] = *alio tempore*.

cavere] 'You who are so accustomed to draw up securities for others must not forget to look after your own security, and not be caught unawares by the British charioteers.' For the British *essedae*, see *Caes. B. G. iv. 33*.

qui ipse] μισῶ σοφιστὴν ὅστις οὐχ αὐτῷ σοφός, *Fam. xiii. 15, 2*. The verse is not found in our copies of the *Medea*. Probably we have here a *μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα* of Cicero, like *Agamemno* for *Ulixes* in *de Div. ii. 63*.

CXXXVII. FROM CICERO TO TREBATIUS TESTA

(FAM. VII. 7).

ROME, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero queritur quod C. Trebatius raro ad se scribat, se non desistere eum Cæsari commendare, ipsius iam opera perficiendum esse, ut sit familiaris Cæsari.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Ego te commendare non desisto, sed quid proficiam ex te scire cupio. Spem maximam habeo in Balbo, ad quem de te diligentissime et saepissime scribo. Illud soleo mirari, non me totiens accipere tuas litteras, quotiens a Quinto mihi fratre adferuntur. In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod capias suadeo et ad nos quam primum recurras. 2. Sin autem sine Britannia tamen adsequi quod volumus possumus, perfice ut sis in familiaribus Caesaris. Multum te in eo frater adiuvabit meus, multum Balbus, sed, mihi crede, tuus pudor et labor plurimum. *Habes* imperatorem liberalissimum, aetatem opportunissimam, commendationem certe singularem, ut tibi unum timendum sit, ne ipse tibi defuisse videare.

1. *neque auri neque argenti*] So Att. iv. 16, 7; but Tac. Agric. 12 says *fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla*.

capias] 'You must capture a war-chariot (the only sort of booty which Britain seems to afford), and in it come to us as soon as you can.' The only product in Britain seems to be the *essedum*, and the only use of it is to take you away. So Dr. Johnson said that the finest pro-

spect which ever met the eye of a Scotchman was the road which took him to London.

2. *aetatem*] Trebatius was now about 35. When in Fam. vii. 16 Cicero calls him *mi vetule*, the expression is merely playful, like 'old boy,' if, indeed, it is not distinctly ironical, referring to the fact that Trebatius had an old head on (comparatively) young shoulders—a view which the context there seems to recommend.

CXXXVIII. FROM CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IV. 14).

CUMAE, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

De itinere et valetudine Attici, de libris Attici a se utendis, si quid forte novi habeat, ut ad se scribat et itinere confecto se revisat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Vestorius noster me per litteras fecit certiozem te Roma a. d. vi. Id. Mai. putari profectum esse, tardius quam dixeras, quod minus valuisses. Si iam melius vales, vehementer gaudeo. Velim domum ad te scribas, ut mihi tui libri pateant non secus ac si ipse adesses, cum ceteri tum Varronis. Est enim mihi utendum quibusdam rebus ex his libris ad eos, quos in manibus habeo, quos, ut spero, tibi valde probabo. 2. Tu velim, si quid forte novi habes maxime a Quinto fratre, deinde a C. Caesare, et si quid forte de comitiis, de re publica—soles enim tu haec festive odorari—, scribas ad me : si nihil habebis, tamen scribas aliquid. Numquam enim mihi tua epistola aut intempestiva aut loquax visa est. Maxime autem rogo rebus tuis totoque itinere ex sententia confecto nos quam primum revisas. Dionysium iube salvere. Cura ut valeas.

1. *Vestorius*] A rich banker of Puteoli. *domum ad te*] = *ad tuam domum*, 'to your house in town.'

quos in manibus habeo] The books *De Republica*.

2. *itinere*] Probably to Epirus. While

there Atticus might carry on communications with Quintus and Caesar, with whom he was on good terms.

Dionysium] A copyist, a freedman of Atticus.

CXXXIX. FROM CICERO TO QUINTUS

(Q. FR. II. 12 (14)).

CUMAE OR POMPEII, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero scribit se πολιτικά scribere, Q. fratri operam suam in rebus eius pollicetur, M. Orfium et Trebatium commendat.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Duas adhuc a te accepi epistolas : earum alteram in ipso discessu nostro, alteram Arimino datam : plures, quas scribis te dedisse, non acceperam. Ego me in Cumano et Pompeiano, praeterquam quod sine te, ceterum satis commode oblectabam et eram in iisdem locis usque ad Kal. Iun. futurus. Scribebam illa, quae dixeram, πολιτικά, spissum sane opus et operosum. Sed si ex sententia successerit, bene erit opera posita : sin minus, in illud ipsum mare deiiciemus, quod spectantes scribimus : aggrediemur alia, quoniam quiescere non possumus. 2. Tua mandata persequar diligenter et adiungendis hominibus et quibusdam non alienandis. Maximae mihi vero curae erit, ut Ciceronem tuum nostrumque videam, si licet, cotidie, sed inspiciam quid discat quam saepissime ;

1. *earum*] This is the reading of Lamb. for *quarum*, which Cicero certainly did not write. Btr. marks *quarum* as spurious. But it is far more probable that *earum* was changed by mistake to *quarum*, than that *quarum* was wrongly inserted. *Earum* is opposed to *plures*. Cicero first tells where he received the two which he did receive, then adds that the other numerous letters which Q. says he wrote he never received at all.

Arimino] This would be the first town in Caesar's province entered by Quintus on his journey to head-quarters : Schütz.

πολιτικά] The books *De Republica*.

2. *adiungendis . . . alienandis*] The first verb refers to Caesar, the second to Pompey and Crassus.

tuum nostrumque] 'Your son, whom I regard as mine also.'

si licet] 'If I may.' I cannot understand why the edd. with one accord have given the conjecture *scilicet*, instead of *si licet* of the mss. *Si licet*, 'if I may,' is a most natural and courteous phrase ; *scilicet* seems to me inexplicable ; I certainly know no place where *scilicet* is thus used without a word to qualify or explain, or where it is used in prose so far on in the sentence.

sed inspiciam] We should have expected *sed etiam* : *non modo* is often omitted in Cicero's Epp. before *sed etiam* ; see on Att. iii. 15, 5 (Ep. lxxiii.). Here even *etiam* is omitted, and that because it follows immediately in the words *etiam magistrum me profitebor*. The meaning is : 'I shall (not only) see him every day, if I may, but I shall watch his progress as much as I can. I shall even offer myself as a master.'

et, nisi ille contemnet, etiam magistrum me ei profitebor, cuius rei non nullam consuetudinem nactus sum in hoc horum dierum otio, Cicerone nostro minore producendo. 3. Tu, quem ad modum scribis, quod etiam si non scriberes, facere te diligentissime tamen sciebam, facies scilicet, ut mea mandata digeras, perseguare, conficias. Ego, cum Romam venero, nullum praetermittam Caesaris tabellarium cui litteras ad te non dem. His diebus—ignosces—cui darem fuit nemo ante hunc M. Orfium, equitem Romanum, nostrum et per se necessarium et quod est ex municipio Atellano, quod scis esse in fide nostra. Itaque eum tibi commendo in maiorem modum, hominem domi splendidum, gratiosum etiam extra domum: quem fac ut tua liberalitate tibi obliges. Est tribunus militum in exercitu vestro. Gratum hominem observantemque cognosces. Trebatium ut valde ames, vehementer te rogo.

CXL. FROM CICERO TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 8).

A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero C. Trebatium vituperat, quod tribunatum militarem a C. Caesare oblatum non acceperit.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Scripsit ad me Caesar perhumaniter nondum te sibi satis esse familiarem propter occupationes suas, sed certe fore. Cui

minore] His own son, who was younger than the son of Quintus. As he had above styled Quintus' son 'his own son too,' he is here obliged to avoid ambiguity by pointing out that he means his own son in this passage, and this he does by referring to his juniority to the son of Quintus. He avoids saying anything which would conflict with the polite fiction, that his own son is to him no more than the son of Quintus.

producendo] This has been wrongly changed to *perdocendo*. Boot (Obs. Critt.) points out that *producere* has the same meaning as *προάγειν*, 'to bring a boy on' *ad progrediendum incitare*. He quotes for

this sense Fam. xii. 13, 1, and Suet. Claud. 4.

3. *facies . . . ut*] See on Ep. xii. 47, 50.
cui . . . non dem] 'Without giving him.' Hence *nullum praetermittam* means 'I will let no possible carrier go by without giving him': for this *material* sense cp. Att. ix. 14, 2; Fam. xi. 21, 1; if *praetermittam* here bore its usual sense of *omit, neglect, pass over*, the sentence would be incorrect: 'I will not pass over a carrier without giving him a letter' is a contradiction in terms.

in fide nostra] 'Under my patronage.' The Sicilians also looked on Cicero as their patron: Att. ii. 1, 5 (Ep. xxvii.).

quidem ego rescripsi quam mihi gratum esset futurum, si quam plurimum in te studii, officii, liberalitatis suae contulisset. Sed ex tuis litteris cognovi praeproperam quamdam festinationem tuam, et simul sum admiratus cur tribunatus commoda, dempto praesertim labore militiae, contempseris. 2. Querar cum Vacerra et Manilio: nam Cornelio nihil audeo dicere, cuius tu periculo stultus es, quoniam te ab eo sapere didicisse profiteris. Quin tu urges istam occasionem et facultatem, qua melior numquam reperietur! Quod scribis de illo Preciano iure consulto, ego te ei non desino commendare: scribit enim ipse mihi te sibi gratias agere debere. De eo quid sit cura ut sciam. Ego vestras Britannicas litteras exspecto.

CXLI. FROM CICERO TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. II. 13 (15a)).

ROME, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Caesaris in se amorem et liberalitatem laudat atque eius se studiosissimum profitetur: de eiusdem favore in Trebatium et Curtium: de rei publicae statu.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. A. d. IIII. Non. Iun., quo die Romam veni, accepi tuas litteras, datas Placentia: deinde alteras postridie, datas Blandenone cum Caesaris litteris, refertis omni officio, diligentia, suavitate. Sunt ista quidem magna vel potius maxima. Habent enim vim magnam ad gloriam et ad summam dignitatem. Sed mihi crede, quem nosti, quod in istis rebus ego plurimi aestimo, id iam

1. *tribunatus*] 'The advantages of a tribune's commission, especially as you are excused the duties of a *tribunus militum*.'

2. *Vacerra et Manilio*] Jurists.
cuius tu periculo] 'Who is responsible for your thick-headedness.'

Preciano] Man. conjectures that this *Praecianus* belonged to the *Gens Praccia*, and had been adopted into another family.

enim] '(You may be sure I recom-

mend you to him), for he writes to me himself to say that you owe him thanks for his good offices.'

de eo quid sit] 'Tell me what is the service he has done you.'

1. *Blandenone*] Blandeno is a town near Placentia, not elsewhere mentioned.

ista] 'Those tokens of good will on Caesar's part.'

habeo: te scilicet primum tam inservientem communi dignitati, deinde Caesaris tantum in me amorem, quem omnibus iis honoribus, quos me a se expectare vult, antepono. Litterae vero eius una datae cum tuis, quarum initium est, quam suavis ei tuus adventus fuerit et recordatio veteris amoris, deinde se effecturum ut ego in medio dolore ac desiderio tui te, cum a me abesses, potissimum secum esse laetarer, incredibiliter delectarunt. 2. Quare facis tu quidem fraterne, quod me hortaris, sed mehercule currentem nunc quidem, ut omnia mea studia in istum unum conferam. Ego vero ardenti quidem studio, ac fortasse efficiam, quod saepe viatoribus, cum properant, evenit, ut, si serius quam voluerint forte surrexerint, properando etiam citius, quam si de nocte vigilassent, perveniant quo velint: sic ego, quoniam in isto homine colendo tam indormivi diu, te mehercule saepe excitante, cursu corrigam tarditatem cum equis tum vero, quoniam tu scribis poemam ab eo nostrum probari, quadrigis poëticis. Modo mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis, penicillo meo. Sed quid ago? quod mihi tempus, Romae praesertim, ut iste me rogat, manenti, vacuum ostenditur? Sed videro. Fortasse enim, ut fit, vincet tuus amor omnes difficultates. 3. Trebatium quod ad se miserim, persalse et humaniter etiam gratias mihi agit. Negat enim in tanta multitudine eorum, qui una essent, quemquam fuisse qui vadimonium concipere posset. M. Curtio tribunatum ab eo petivi—nam Domitius se derideri putasset, si esset a me rogatus: hoc enim est eius cotidianum, se ne tribunum militum quidem facere: etiam in senatu lusit Appium collegam, propterea isse ad Caesarem, ut aliquem tribunatum auferret—sed in alterum annum. Id et Curtius ita volebat. 4. Tu, quem ad modum me censes oportere esse et in re publica et in nostris inimiciis, ita et esse et fore oricula infima scito molliorem. 5. Res Romanae se sic habe-

2. *currentem*] See Q. Fr. i. 1, 45 (Ep. xxx.).

ego vero] sc. *conferam*. 'Yes; I will do all I can,' For the emphatic use of *ego* in answer to a question, cp. Fam. xiv. 4, 1 (lxii.).

poëma] Probably the poem *de temporibus suis*, often referred to above.

tuus amor] 'My affection for you;' so *amori nostro*, 'your love for me:' Fam. v. 12, 3 (Ep. cix.).

3. *isse ad Caesarem*] The point of the joke of Dom. was that the consuls were without power; Caesar was the source of patronage; so he says that when his colleague Appius went to Luca two years before to meet Caesar, it was no doubt to get from him some petty office, such as the commission of a *tribunus militum*.

4. *oricula infima molliorem*] This seems to be a reminiscence of an expression of Catullus, xxv. 2, *mollior . . . imula*

bant: erat non nulla spes comitiorum, sed incerta: erat aliqua suspicio dictaturae, ne ea quidem certa: summum otium forense, sed senescentis magis civitatis quam acquiescentis. Sententia autem nostra in senatu eius modi, magis ut alii nobis adsentiantur quam nosmet ipsi.

Τοιαῦθ' ὁ τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται.

CXLII. CICERO TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. II. 14 (15b)).

ROME, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratrem non vult ante tempus e provincia in urbem redire ac de ambitu iam admodum ingravescente conqueritur.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Calamo *bono* et atramento temperato, charta etiam dentata res agetur. Scribis enim te meas litteras superiores vix legere potuisse, in quo nihil eorum, mi frater, fuit, quae putas. Neque enim occupatus eram neque perturbatus nec iratus alicui, sed hoc facio semper, ut quicumque calamus in manus meas venerit, eo sic utar tamquam bono. 2. Verum attende nunc, mi optime et suavissime frater, ad ea dum rescribo, quae tu in hac eadem brevi epistola *πραγματικῶς* valde scripsisti. De quo petis, ut ad te nihil

orieilla. We have another such echo in *ocellos Italiae villulas*, Att. xvi. 6, 2; and Catullus xxxi., *Peninsularum Sirmio insularumque Ocellae*. But Cicero never mentions Catullus; see on Q. Fr. ii. 11, 4 (Ep. cxxxi.). 'As soft as the tip of the ear' is here proverbial for extreme gentleness and avoidance of irritability.

5. *dictaturae*] of Pompeius; ep. *est nonnullus odor dictaturae*: Att. iv. 16, 11. *senescentis . . . acquiescentis*] 'The calm of decrepitude, not of repose.' This seems to me to be in favour of my interpretation of *frigus* in Ep. cxxxiii.

τοιαῦθ'] Eur. Suppl. 119.

1. *Calamo . . . agetur*] 'I shall take care to have a good pen, well-mixed ink (neither too thick nor too thin), and cream-laid paper.' Paper was smoothed and polished with ivory; *scabritia laevigatur dente conchae*, Plin. xiii. 25. Persius, iii. 12ff., describes the effects of ink which is not *temperatum*—

'Tunc querimur crassus calamo quod pendeat umor,
nigra sed infusa vaneat sepiæ lympha,
dilutas querimur geminet quod fistula guttas.'

hoc facio semper . . . ut utar] 'I have a habit of using the first pen I happen to take up.' See on Ep. xii. 47, 50.

occultans, nihil dissimulans, nihil tibi indulgens genuine fraterneque rescribam, id est, utrum advoles ut dixeramus, an ad expediendum te, si causa sit, commorere. Si, mi Quinte, parva aliqua res esset, in qua seiscitarere quid vellem, tamen, cum tibi permisurus essem ut faceres quod velles, ego ipse quid vellem ostenderem. In hac vero re hoc profecto quaeris, cuius modi illum annum, qui sequitur, exspectem: aut plane tranquillum nobis aut certe munitissimum: quod cotidie domus, quod forum, quod theatri significationes declarant; nec laborant mei conscientia copiarum nostrarum, quod Caesaris, quod Pompeii gratiam tenemus. Haec me, ut confidam, faciunt. Sin aliquis erumpet amentis hominis furor, omnia sunt ad eum frangendum expedita. 3. Haec ita sentio, iudico, ad te explore scribo. Dubitare te non adsentatorie sed fraterne veto. Qua re suavitatis equidem nostrae fruendae causa cuperem te ad id tempus venire, quod dixeras, sed illud malo tamen, quod putas magis *e re tua*; *magis* . . . illa etiam magni aestimo, ἀμφιλαφίαν illam tuam et explicationem debitorum tuorum. Illud quidem sic habeto, nihil nobis expeditis, si valebimus, fore fortu-

2. *utrum advoles*] ‘Whether you are to fly to my arms, as we had arranged, or to stay where you are to clear yourself of difficulties.’ The emendation of this passage was begun by Sch., and completed by Wes. We do not require to read, with Sch., *huc* before *advoles*; cp. *quā sis advolaturus*, Att. ii. 15, 2; *ut si inclamāro advoles*, ib. 18, 4; so *si inclamāro ut accurras*, ib. 20, 5.

hoc profecto quaeris] ‘Your question amounts to this,’ because the question whether Quintus would come to Rome or not would depend on the further question, what kind of times they were likely to have at Rome.

aut plane] Cicero’s reply to the further question which he puts into the mouth of Atticus is: ‘The year will either be a year of unbroken calm for me, or at least one in which my position will be impregnable.’

theatri sign.] called ἐπισημασίαι above, Att. i. 16, 11; *populī ἐπισημασίαι*, Att. xiv. 3, 2.

laborant] ‘My friends feel no anxiety for me, through their consciousness of my strong position in enjoying the favour both of Caesar and of Pompey;’ cp. *multo magis est nobis laborandum de Africa*,

Att. xi. 12, 3; *laborandum est ne*, Fam. ix. 3, 1. Wes. would read *nec laborandum de mea confidentia cop. nostr.*, but this is not so near the mss., and *confidentia* with objective gen. is very rare.

amentis hominis] P. Clodii.

3. *qua re . . . tuorum*] ‘Wherefore I should indeed wish that you could come at the time you arranged, for the sake of our pleasure in each other’s society; but yet I desire more that you should do what you think your interests demand [and stay in the camp of Caesar]; still more do I value other considerations, your being in easy circumstances, and free from embarrassments.’ The words printed in italics, or some such words, must, as Wes. suggested, have fallen out. The words printed are suggested by Madv., *Révue de Philologie*, ii. 3, p. 177: *MAGIS* is inserted by me, because its insertion affords an explanation of the fact that the missing words fell out; they were passed over by the scribe, who, having raised his eyes after writing *quod putas magis*, resumed his task after the second *magis*, not the first; cp. a similar *parablepsy* in Fam. v. 12, 5. This is sometimes called *corruptio ex homoeoteleuto*. For *magis* followed by *magni*, cp. *artem magis magnam atque*

natus. Parva sunt, quae desunt, pro nostris quidem moribus et ea sunt ad explicandum expeditissima, modo valeamus. 4. Ambitus redit immanis. Numquam fuit par. Idib. Quinct. fenus fuit bessibus ex triente, coitione Memmii, quae est cum Domitio: hanc Scaurus utinam vinceret: Messalla flaccet. Non dico ὑπερβολάς, vel HS centiens constituunt in praerogativa pronuntiare. Res ardet invidia. Tribunicii candidati compromiserunt, HS quingenis

uberem, De Or. i. 190. Here not only does my insertion of *magis* before *illa etiam* account for the falling out of the italicized words, but it is demanded by the *crescendo* of the sentence, *cuperem*, *malo tamen*, *magis etiam* . . . *magni aestimo*.

4. *Ambitus*] On the whole of this passage, cp. the very similar place, Att. iv. 15, 7 ff.

Idib. Quinct.] On July 15 interest rose from 4 to 8 per cent. Bribery became so eager, and consequently the demand for money was so great, that the rate of interest suddenly doubled itself. This was owing to an infamous compact made between the existing consuls L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius Pulcher on the one hand, and the candidates for consulship, Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Memmius Gemellus, on the other. The compact was a strange one, and must be thoroughly understood if this passage and the corresponding passages in the next letter (§§ 7 ff.) are to be rightly apprehended. The candidates for the consulship for 701 (53) were C. Memmius, Cn. Domitius Calvinus, M. Valerius Messalla, and M. Aemilius Scaurus. Memmius was favoured by Caesar; Scaurus at first by Pompeius, whose brother-in-law he was, and whose quaestor he had been in Asia. Pompeius afterwards abandoned Scaurus. Memmius and Domitius made a compact with the existing consuls, Appius and Domitius, binding themselves under a fine, in return for the consuls' influence at the approaching election, to produce (if elected) three Augurs, who should testify that a *lex curiata* had passed, conferring on the outgoing consuls the *imperium* in the provinces assigned to them; and two consulars, who should affirm that a decree had been passed in the senate for the equipment of those provinces, though no such *lex curiata* or decree had ever been passed at all, the whole thing being a complete fabrication.

The issue of the compact was disastrous. Memmius, at the instigation of Pompeius, laid the whole matter before the senate. Doubtless he looked on the dictatorship of Pompeius as a certainty, and hoped that in that event he would be more than compensated for his treachery. Pompeius hated the existing consuls, wished to counteract Caesar, who favoured Memmius, and desired an *interregnum*, as a step towards his dictatorship. Caesar was highly indignant at the conduct of Memmius, which no doubt precipitated his breach with Pompeius and his party.

coitione Memmii] 'By means of the coalition which Memmius had established with Domitius.' It seems best to take *Domitio* here as referring to the consul Domitius, not the candidate Domitius. The compact is here spoken of as between Memmius and Domitius; it is spoken of in the next letter as being between two of the candidates for consulship and both the existing consuls. There is nothing surprising in a trifling difference of expression like this. But it is quite possible that the reading has been corrupted through a confusion between the two Domitii. Perhaps we should read *coitione Memmii, quocum est Domitius, eum Appio et Domitio*. This would then be another case of *parablepsy*. But Cicero, in the next letter, writes of the candidate Domitius, perhaps to avoid ambiguity, by his *cognomen* Calvinus.

utinam vinceret] Scaurus seemed now to have the best chance, being backed by Pompeius, who, however, subsequently abandoned him; *Scaurum autem iam pridem Pompeius abiicit*: Q. Fr. iii. 8, 3.

Messalla] He and Domitius Calvinus were the consuls for 701 (b. c. 53).

H. S. centiens] 10,000,000 sesterces = about £85,000.

pronuntiare] 'To contract to pay.'

H. S. quingenis] 5000 *sestertia* a-piece, that is, 500,000 sesterces, which would amount to more than £4000 each. This

in singulos apud M. Catonem depositis, petere eius arbitrato, ut, qui contra fecisset, ab eo condemnaretur. Quae quidem comitia si gratuita fuerint, ut putantur, plus unus Cato potuerit quam omnes leges omnesque iudices.

✓ CXLIII. CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IV. 15).

ROME, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

De Eutychide manu misso, de itinere Attici Asiatico, de litteris suis ad Atticum in Epirum missis, de iudiciis Romae factis, quibus Sufenas et Cato absoluti, Procilius condemnatus sit, de causa Reatinorum, de victu cum Axio, de reditu Romam Fonteii causa a. d. VII. Id. Quinct., de spectaculis et ludis, de ambitu propter comitia instantia, de quibus mox accuratius scripturum se promittit, si facta sint, de defensione Messii et de ceteris, ad quas se paret, defensionibus, de Q. fratre in Britanniam cum Caesare profecto, de Dionysio a se expectato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

✓ 1. De Eutychide gratum, qui vetere praenomine, novo nomine T. erit Caecilius, ut est ex me et ex te iunctus Dionysius, M. Pomponius. Valde mehercule mihi gratum est Eutychidem tuam erga me benevolentiam cognosse, et suam illam in meo dolore συμπάθειαν neque tum mihi obscuram neque post ingratam fuisse. 2. Iter Asiaticum tuum puto tibi suscipiendum fuisse. Numquam enim tu sine iustissima causa tam longe a tot tuis et hominibus et rebus

sum was to be deposited in the hands of Cato, to be forfeited by the candidate whose conduct Cato should not approve, and put to the credit of the rival candidates. This is a strong tribute to the character of M. Cato Uticensis, who was praetor this year.

gratuita] 'Pure,' 'without bribery.' *potuerit*] 'will be shown to have more weight.' This use of the future is very common in Plaut. and Ter.; cp. also *quiescet*, 'she will be found to be asleep': Juv. i. 126.

1. *Eutychide*] Atticus had manumitted a

slave, Eutychides, at the request of Cicero. His new name as a freedman was to include Titus, the old *praenomen* of Atticus, and the *nomen* Caecilius, recently assumed by Atticus on his adoption.

Dionysius] was a literary slave of Cicero, in whom Atticus took an interest. He assumed on manumission part of the name of Atticus, as well as the *praenomen* of Cicero.

tuam erga me] 'That your manumission of him was a compliment to me, and that his sympathy with me in my trouble was not unnoted then, or forgotten afterwards.'

carissimis et suavissimis abesse voluisses. Sed humanitatem tuam amoremque in tuos reditus celeritas declarabit. Sed vereor ne lepore suo detineat diutius rhetor Clodius, et homo pereruditus, ut aiunt, et nunc quidem deditus Graecis litteris Pituanius. Sed, si vis homo esse, recipe te ad nos ad quod tempus confirmasti. Cum illis tamen, cum salvi venerint, Romae vivere licebit. 3. Avere te scribis accipere aliquid a me litterarum: dedi ac multis quidem de rebus, ἡμερολογεῶν perscripta omnia, sed, ut coniicio, quoniam mihi non videris in Epiro diu fuisse, redditas tibi non arbitror. Genus autem mearum ad te quidem litterarum eius modi fere est, ut non libeat cuiquam dare, nisi de quo exploratum sit tibi eum redditurum. 4. Nunc Romanas res accipe. A. d. IIII. Non. Quinct. Sufenas et Cato absoluti, Procilius condemnatus. Ex quo intellectum est τρισαρειοπαγίτας ambitum, comitia, interregnum, maiestatem, totam denique rem publicam flocci non facere: [debemus] patrem familias domi suae occidi nolle, neque tamen id ipsum abunde: nam absolverunt XXII., condemnarunt XXIX. Publius sane diserto epilogo criminans mentes iudicum commoverat. Hortalus in ea causa fuit, cuius modi solet. Nos verbum nullum. Verita est enim pusilla, quae nunc laborat, ne animum Publici offenderet. 5. His rebus actis Reatini me ad sua τέμπη duxerunt, ut agerem causam contra Interamnates apud consulem et decem legatos, quod lacus Velinus, a M'. Curio emissus, interciso monte, in Narem defluit: ex quo est illa siccata sed umida tamen modice

Rom. leg. 1
C. 10. 10. 10.

Publius
10. 10. 10.
dramet

2. amoremque in tuos] 'Your love for your friends.'

Graecis litteris] This is usually explained as a jesting reference to accounts, which would (perhaps) be drawn up in Greek in the east, or to business with Greeks, which Pituanius might have been transacting for Atticus. It is also supposed that *lepore suo*, above, is ironical. Possibly it is; but I do not see why we should not recognize in the words about Pituanius a serious statement.

homo esse] See on Q. Fr. ii. 9, 4 (Ep. cxxxii).

4. Sufenas et Cato] M. Nonius Sufenas and C. Cato were acquitted on a charge of bribery; Proc. was found guilty on a charge of parricide.

τρισαρειοπαγίτας] 'Big-wigs,' 'three-tailed bashaws.'

debemus] is rightly bracketed by Wes., who supposes that it was inserted by a

scribe who did not see that *nolle* depends on *intellectum est*. It would be very abrupt to pass from *τρίς*. to *nos*, as the persons whose views are mentioned.

occidi] The mss have *occidere*. Perhaps Cicero wrote *occidere reum nolle*. The *reum* might have fallen out by reason of the *-re* in *occidere*.

pusilla] His daughter Tullia.

5. ex quo] 'By which means the celebrated Rosia has been saved from inundation, though it still retains a fair amount of moisture. *Rosia*, or *Rosea*, was a very fertile plain in Reate, of which Varro relates that Caesar Vopiscus called it *Italiae sumen*; in quo relicta pertiae postridie non appareret propter herbam. Hence Cicero calls it *illa*, 'the famous Rosea.' Rosea, now Le Roscie, is derived from *ros roris*. It is mentioned by Virgil, *Rosea rura Velini*, Aen. vii. 712.

Rosia. Vixi cum Axio: qui etiam me ad Septem aquas duxit. 6. Redii Romam Fonteii causa a. d. vii. Idus Quinct. Veni in spectaculum, primum magno et aequabili plausu—sed hoc ne curaris: ego ineptus qui scripserim—, deinde Antiphonti operam. Is erat ante manu missus quam productus. Ne diutius pendeas, palmam tulit. Sed nihil tam pusillum, nihil tam sine voce, nihil tam . . . Verum haec tu tecum habeto. In Andromacha tamen maior fuit quam Astyanax: in ceteris parem habuit neminem. Quaeris nunc de Arbuscula: valde placuit. Ludi magnifici et grati. Venatio in aliud tempus dilata. 7. Sequere nunc me in campum. Ardet ambitus: σῆμα δέ τοι ἐπέω. Fenus ex triente Idib. Quinct. factum erat bessibus. Dices, istuc quidem non moleste fero. O virum! O civem! Memmium Caesaris omnes opes confirmant. Cum eo Domitium consules iunxerunt, qua pacatione, epistolae committere non audeo. Pompeius fremit, queritur, Scauro studet, sed utrum fronte an mente dubitatur. Ἐξοχή in nullo est: pecunia omnium dignitatem exaequat. Messalla languet, non quo aut animus desit aut amici, sed coitio consulum et Pompeius obsunt. Ea comitia puto fore ut ducantur. Tribunicii candidati iurarunt se arbitrio Catonis petituros. 8. Apud eum HS. quingena deposuerunt, ut, qui a Catone damnatus esset, id perderet et competitoribus tribueretur. 9. Haec ego pridie scribebam, quam comitia fore putabantur. Sed ad te, v. Kal. Sext. si facta erunt et tabellarius non erit profectus, tota comitia perscribam: quae si, ut putantur, gratuita fuerint, plus unus Cato potuerit quam omnes leges omnesque iudices. 10. Messius defendebatur a nobis de legatione revocatus: nam eum Caesari legarat Appius.

Septem aquas] a *pagus* belonging to the territory of Reate. For inscriptions erected by this *pagus*, see C. I. L. ix. 4206–4208 (and Mommsen thereon), and 4399.

6. *Fonteii*] We know nothing about this case.

qui scripserim] ‘To mention it.’

operam] Sc. *dedi*, i.e. ‘went to see’; cp. *Fam.* vii. 1, 3 (*Ep.* cvii.). Antipho was an actor. He was manumitted before he was brought out (*productus*) by his master, who felt quite sure that he would be a success.

Astyanax] So small was Antipho, that in enacting the part of Andromache he had to congratulate himself that there

was one smaller person on the stage, the little boy Astyanax.

parem] i.e. *non maiorem*, ‘only the same size as himself.’ So in *Ep.* xli. 2, *parem* is usually taken to mean ‘only equal to,’ though I do not think that is the right interpretation of the passage.

Arbuscula] The *explosa Arbuscula* of Horace.

Venatio] ‘Fighting with wild beasts.’

7. *ardet*] ‘Is at boiling point.’ See last letter on this section.

non moleste fero] A money-lender, like Atticus, would regard with complacency the rise in the rate of interest.

ἐξοχή] ‘a lead.’

ducantur] ‘postponed.’

Servilius edixit ut adesset. Tribus habet Pomptinam, Velinam, Maeciam. Pugnatur acriter: agitur tamen satis. Deinde me expedio ad Drusum, inde ad Seaurum. Parantur orationibus indices gloriosi. Fortasse accedent etiam consules designati: in quibus si Seaurus non fuerit, in hoc iudicio valde laborabit. 10. Ex Quinti fratris litteris suspicor iam eum esse in Britannia. Suspenso animo exspecto quid agat. Illud quidem sumus adepti, quod multis et magnis indiciis possumus iudicare nos Caesari et carissimos et iucundissimos esse. Dionysium velim salvere iubeas et eum roges et hortere, ut quam primum veniat, ut possit Cicero- nem meum atque etiam me ipsum erudire.

CXLIV. FROM CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IV. 16).

ROME, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero multis ab Attico acceptis litteris ad unam potissimum gravem et plenam rerum rescribit de M. Paccio ab Attico commendato, de M. Varrone in aliquem locum librorum de re publica includendo, de Scaevolae persona in libris de oratore ab Attico desiderata, de re Piliae, de Vestorio, de C. Catone absoluto lege Iunia et Licinia, accusato lege Fufia, de Druso, de Procilio, de Hirro, de senatus consulto, quod consules de provinciis fecerunt, de Messalla et Domitio consulibus, ut videbatur, futuris et de ratione comitorum. Deinceps de Q. fratris litteris e Gallia missis, de exitu belli Britannici exspectato, de basilica Aemilia in foro aedificata et aliis aedificationibus, de Attici itinere Asiatico et commercio litterarum inter se et Atticum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Occupationum mearum vel hoc signum erit, quod epistola librarii manu est. De epistolarum frequentia te nihil accuso, sed

9. *tribus habet*] 'The tribes from which the judges are to be taken are.'
accedent] 'Will be added to the number of my clients' (as *rei de ambitu*).

Dr. Theodor Mommsen (*Zeitsch. für die Alt.* 1845, No. 98) restored the last letters of the fourth book to Atticus to their true form. He perceived that the leaves of the archetype must have been transposed. Before his discovery parts of separate letters have been read as one letter, and one and

the same letter has been broken up to form parts of many. The Orellian order rests on the supposed *codices* of Bosius, and may, therefore, be readily abandoned. Lambinus adopted a third arrangement, that, too, different from the arrangement of M. The numbers between square brackets indicate the pre-Mommsenian order.

1. *frequentia*] 'Touching your regularity as a correspondent, I have no charge to bring against you.' See note on Ep. 1, § 2.

pleraeque tantum modo mihi nuntiabant ubi esses : quod erant abs te vel etiam significabant recte esse. Quo in genere maxime delectarunt duae, fere eodem tempore abs te Buthroto datae. Scire enim volebam te commode navigasse. Sed haec epistolarum frequentia non tam ubertate sua quam crebritate delectavit. Illa fuit gravis et plena rerum, quam mihi M. Paccius, hospes tuus, reddidit. Ad eam rescribam igitur, et hoc quidem primum : Paccio et oratione et re ostendi quid tua commendatio ponderis haberet. Itaque in intimis est meis, cum antea notus non fuisset. Nunc pergam ad cetera. 2. Varro, de quo ad me scribis, includetur in aliquem locum, si modi erit locus. Sed nosti genus dialogorum meorum : ut in oratoriis, quos tu in caelum fers, non mentio potuit fieri cuiusquam ab iis, qui disputant, nisi eius, qui illis notus aut auditus esset : *ita* hanc ego de re publica, quam institui, disputationem in Africani personam et Philii et Laelii et Manilii contuli : adiunxi adolescentes, Q. Tuberone, P. Rutilium, duo Laelii generos, Scaevolam et Fannium. Itaque cogitabam, quoniam in singulis libris utor prooemiis, ut Aristoteles in iis, quos ἐξωτερικὸς vocat, aliquid efficere, ut non sine causa istum appellarem : id quod intellego tibi placere. Utinam modo conata efficere possim ! Rem enim, quod te non fugit, magnam complexus sum et gravem et

vel etiam . . . esse] Most edd. bracket these words as spurious, understanding *a domo tua Buthroto* by *abs te*, and rightly regarding the clause as a meaningless repetition if thus understood. Others transpose the words to stand last in the sentence, understanding *quod erant abs te* to mean 'the fact that the letters were written by your own hand.' I understand these words in this last sense, but I do not see why we should resort to transposition. Punctuated as in my text, the meaning is: 'in that they were written by your own hand they even showed further that you were well.' *Vel* is often intensive in Cicero with verbs, as well as adjectives, substantives, and adverbs; cp. *vel stertas licet*, Acad. ii. 93; *cum vel abundare debeam*, Att. xv. 15, 3. The fact that here *vel* is separated from the word which it qualifies forms no difficulty; we have in Pl. Stich. v. 4, 39, *vel cadus vorti potest*, where *vel* goes with *vorti*. A fair sense would emerge even if we took *quod erant abs te* to merely mean 'the fact that the letters were from you':

the fact that Atticus wrote at all saved Cicero from apprehensions about his health, which he might have felt if he had not heard from him. It was the letters addressed from his house in Buthrotum that for the first time showed Cicero that Atticus had got safely over his sea voyage.

oratione et re] This antithesis is common in Cicero, e.g. *Epicurus re tollit oratione relinquit deos*, N. D. i. 123. So in Pl., as in Epid. i. 2, 13—

'Nam quid te igitur retulit
Beneficium esse *oratione* si ad *rem* auxilium
emortuumst.'

2. *in aliquem locum*] In the dialogue of Cic. de Rep.

Philii] P. Fulvius Philus, cons. 618 (136).

ἐξωτερικὸς] 'popular.' These dialogues are those which Cicero imitates, and which suggested to him those criticisms on the style of Aristotle which seem so unsuitable to his extant works. See Ep. cl. § 23.

istum] 'your friend Varro.'

plurimi otii, quo ego maxime egeo. 3. Quod in iis libris, quos laudas, personam desideras Scaevolae, non eam temere dimovi, sed feci idem quod in *πολιτεία* deus ille noster Plato. Cum in Piraeum Socrates venisset ad Cephalum, locupletem et festivum senem, quoad primus ille sermo habetur, adest in disputando senex, deinde cum ipse quoque commodissime locutus esset, ad rem divinam dicit se velle discedere neque postea revertitur. Credo Platonem vix putasse satis consonum fore, si hominem id aetatis in tam longo sermone diutius retinisset. Multo ego magis hoc mihi cavendum putavi in Scaevola, qui et aetate et valetudine erat ea, qua eum esse meministi, et iis honoribus, ut vix satis decorum videretur eum plures dies esse in Crassi Tusculano. Et erat primi libri sermo non alienus a Scaevolae studiis. Reliqui libri *τεχνολογίαν* habent, ut scis. Huic ioculatorem senem illum, ut noras, interesse sane nolui.—4. De re Piliae, quod scribis, erit mihi curae. Etenim est luculenta res, Aureliani, ut scribis, indiciis, et in eo me etiam Tulliae meae venditabo. Vestorio non desum. Gratum enim tibi id esse intellego et ut ille intellegat curo. Sed scis, qui *sit*? cum habeat duo faciles, nihil difficilius. 5. Nunc ad ea, quae quaeris de C. Catone. Lege Iunia et Licinia scis absolutum: Fufia ego tibi nuntio absolutum iri, neque patronis suis tam libentibus quam accusatoribus. Is tamen et mecum et cum Milone in gratiam rediit. Drusus reus est factus a Lucretio. Iudicibus reiiciendis a. d. v. Non. Quinct. De Procilio rumores non boni, sed iudicia nosti. Hirrus cum Domitio in gratia est. Senatus consultum, quod hi consules de provinciis fecerunt, QUICUMQUE POSTHAC, non mihi videtur esse valiturum. 6. [ep. XVII. 2.] De

3. *non eam temere dimovi*] ‘not without good cause,’ οὐκ ἐπὶός. Q. Mucius Scaevola, the augur, son-in-law of L. Crassus, appears in the first book, *De Oratore*, but not in the following. He was a sayer of *bons mots* (Lacl. 1), and Cicero did not think such a sprightly old man should take part in a technical discussion.

4. *Piliae*] the wife of Atticus.

Aur. indiciis] ‘according to the account of Aur.’

venditabo] Tullia was greatly attached to Pilia (Ep. cvii. § 2).

sed scis qui sit] ‘but pray don’t you know what kind of fellow he is? No-

thing could be more unmanageable than he is, considering how complaisant you and I are.’

5. *Iunia et Licinia*] See vol. I². *Addenda to Comm.*, note 5.

Fufia] See vol. I². *Addenda to Comm.*, note 2.

iudicibus . . . Quinct.] ‘The day fixed for the challenging of the jurors is the 3rd of July.’ For Drusus and Procilius, see Att. iv. 15 (Ep. cxliii.).

hic consules] The consuls of this year, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius Puleher.

QUICUMQUE POSTHAC] The first words of the *Setum*. introduced by the consuls.

Messalla quod quaeris, quid scribam nescio: numquam ego vidi tam pares candidatos. Messallae copias nosti. Scaurum Triarius reum fecit. Si quaeris, nulla est magno opere commota *συμπάθεια*. Sed tamen habet aedilitas eius memoriam non ingratham et est pondus apud rusticos in patris memoria. Reliqui duo plebei sic exaequantur, ut Domitius valeat amicis, adiuvetur tamen non *nihil* gratissimo munere; Memmius Caesaris commendetur militibus, Pompeii Gallia nitatur. Quibus si non valuerit, putant fore aliquem qui comitia in adventum Caesaris detrudat, Catone praesertim absoluto. 7. [ep. XVI. 13.] Paccianae epistolae respondi: cognosce cetera. Ex fratris litteris incredibilia quaedam de Caesaris in me amore cognovi, eaque sunt ipsius Caesaris uberrimis litteris confirmata. Britannici belli exitus exspectatur. Constat enim aditus insulae esse muratos mirificis molibus. Etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula neque ullam spem praedae nisi ex mancipiis, ex quibus nullos puto te litteris aut musicis eruditos exspectare. 8. [14.] Paullus in

6. *Messalla*] The four candidates for the consulship were two patricians, M. Valerius Messalla, M. Aemilius Scaurus, and two plebeians, Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Memmius.

apud rusticos] 'the rustic tribes.'

militibus] See on cli. § 3.

Pompeii Gallia nitatur] Relies on the support of the colonies founded in Cisalpine Gaul by Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the electors in which were clients of Pompeius Magnus, who was favourable to Memmius' candidature.

aliquis] Some tribune who will be very ready for a daring measure, now that C. Cato has been acquitted, and has not suffered for the illegal acts of his tribunate.

7. *muratos*] 'walled.' I am afraid I shall be accused of rashness in ascribing to Cicero here a quite post-classical word. The mss read *miratos*, and *munitos* is the universally accepted correction. But why then do the mss give us *miratos*? On the other hand, if Cicero wrote *muratos*—in itself a very good word—the mss would be *well-nigh certain* to present *miratos*. Hence I believe that Cicero here, in a letter to a friend, used an expression vigorous and picturesque here, but not found again in extant classical literature. I cannot believe that any copyist found the

obvious *munitos*, and wrote the inexplicable *miratos*. But if he found the *ἀπαξ εἰρημέρον muratos*, he would be nearly certain to write *miratos*, a common word very near it in form; and that without at all troubling himself as to the sense of the passage; just as a compositor will set up 'serious effusion' if one writes 'serous effusion.' Such is the invariable practice of the best copyists. By 'best' I mean those who did not assume the functions of an editor, but wrote down either the right word, or the wrong word which leads to the right. We must remember that we have in these letters a unique department of literature. A man might easily write in a letter that the approach to Britain was 'absolutely *ramparted* with masses of cliff,' though he would not use that word in a formal composition meant for the public. Even now one uses words like 'interviewed' in a private letter, though one would not use such a word in a serious essay. In a word, I firmly believe that Cicero here used, and rightly used, the word *muratos*, not elsewhere occurring in extant Latin till Vegetius, at least so far as I know.

molibus] 'huge cliffs,' Caes. B. G. iv. 23.

scripulum] $\frac{1}{24}$ of an *uncia*, and consequently $\frac{1}{288}$ of an *as*.

foro basilicam iam paene texerat iisdem antiquis columnis: illam autem, quam locavit, facit magnificentissimam. Quid quaeris? Nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius. Itaque Caesaris amici—me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet—in monumentum illud, quod tu tollere laudibus solebas, ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus, contempsimus sescentiens HS. Cum privatis non poterat transigi minore pecunia. Efficiemus rem gloriosissimam. Nam in campo Martio saepta tributis comitiis marmorea sumus et tecta | facturi eaque cingemus excelsa porticu, ut mille passuum conficiatur: simul adiungetur huic operi villa etiam publica. Dices: 'Quid mihi hoc monumentum proderit?' At quid *id* laboramus? *Habes* res Romanas? Non enim te puto de

8. *texerat*] 'had almost roofed,' that is, 'had almost completed to the roof.' *Texuit*, the usual reading, could be said of a nest, or a wicker structure of any kind, even of a ship, but not of a house. *Erexit* (the reading of Klotz) would be more suitable to a tower or column than to a basilica. *Texerat* is an epistolary tense, *cum haec scribebam* being understood. See Adn. Crit.

iisdem] This was the *basilica Aemilia* originally founded by M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior in 575 (179), and afterwards so frequently restored by Aemilii, that Tacitus called the *basilica Aemilia monumenta* (A. iii. 72). This was now to be restored with the old materials (*iisdem lapidibus*) by L. Aemilius Paullus, afterwards consul in 704 (50). The succeeding words, *illam . . . magnificentissimam*, would seem to refer to another *basilica Paulli*. But there was only one *basilica Aemilia*, or *Paulli basilica*, at Rome. Either then this second *basilica* was joined to, and became part of the ancient *basilica*, or we must suspect the soundness of the text. Now, it is not at all improbable that Caesar should, though absent in Britain, have given orders for the commencement of the *basilica Iulia*, which stood opposite to the *basilica Aemilia* in the Forum. Boot suspects that for *illam* we should read *ille*, and suppose that *ille* refers to the absent Caesar. It is true that Caesar often is called *ille* in the letters, but it is only where there is some reason for using covert language, which does not exist here. The succeeding words, *nihil . . . gloriosius*, followed by *ITAEQUE Caesaris*

amici, are certainly in favour of Boot's ingenious hypothesis. 'It is for this reason (the public spirit which he shows, and which stimulates us to emulation) that we, his friends—myself and Oppius, as I own, though you, who are always warning me against Caesar, should burst with rage—have thought very little of spending sixty millions of sesterces on the public work, about which you used to be so enthusiastic, of opening up the Forum, and clearing the way right up to the Hall of Liberty. We could not settle private claims for a smaller sum.'

tecta] 'roofed.'

id laboramus] 'why need we trouble ourselves about that?' The accus. neuter of a pronoun, or of a numeral adj. is sometimes joined to an intransitive verb, to denote the compass or extent of the action, Madv. § 229; cp. *utrumque laetor*, Fam. vii. 1. 1; *sin quid offenderit, sibi totum, nihil tibi offenderit*, Fam. ii. 18. 3; and *quid tibi sim auctor*, Fam. vi. 8. 2, a very strong case.

Habes] This is the conj. of Wes. It is the commonest formula for passing from public to private affairs, and is strongly confirmed by the *enim* which follows. The other readings (see Adn. Crit.) are ungrammatical, *laborare rem* being an impossible construction; except the reading of Bosius, *quid? eclabo te res Romanas?* which gives an excellent sense. 'What,' says Cicero; 'am I to burke Roman history?' ironically calling these embellishments of the city the most important work now being done by the State. This is ingenious, so much so that even Boot accepts it as his reading;

lustro, quod iam desperatum est, aut de iudiciis, quae lege †Coetia fiunt, quaerere. [15.] 9. Nunc te obiurgari patere, si iure. Scribis enim in ea epistola, quam C. Decimius mihi reddidit Butthrote datam, in Asiam tibi eundum esse te arbitrari. Mihi mehercule nihil videbatur esse in quo tantulum interesset utrum per procuratores ageres an per te ipsum: *nihil* ut abires totiens et tam longe abesses. Sed haec malletm integra re tecum egissem. Profecto enim aliquid egissem. Nunc reprimam susceptam obiurgatiorem. Utinam valeat ad celeritatem reditus tui! Ego ad te propterea minus saepe scribo, quod certum non habeo ubi sis aut ubi futurus sis. Huic tamen nescio cui, quod videbatur is te visurus esse, putavi dandas esse litteras. Tu, quoniam iturum te in Asiam esse putas, ad quae tempora te exspectemus facias me certiore velim et de Eutychide quid egeris.

but resting, as it does, on no authority except that of Y, it must be regarded as the ingenuity of M. Du Bos, not of Cicero.

†Coetia] This word is corrupt, and no correction is certain. The best are *Plotia* or *Cincia*. Cicero would then say: 'the chief feature in the *iudicia* is the constant application of the *Lex Plotia de vi*;' or, 'is the evasion of the *Lex Cincia de muneribus*.'

9. *si iure*] sc. te obiurgavero.

nihil ut] 'no reason for your going away so often, and remaining at such a

distance from your friends.' *Longe* is not used in the positive in the temporal sense; in *quae venientia longe ante videris*, Tusc. iii. 29: *longe* is 'from a distance'; *longeque recusat*, Virg. A. v. 406, is 'puts the proposal far from him'; *nec longe*, *ib.* x. 317, is plainly spatial. But in the comparative and superlative *longe* has a temporal meaning, as *longius anno remanere*, Caes. B. G. iv. 1; *quamdudum in portum venis huc?* *Longissime*, Pl. Stich. iv. 1, 24.

integra re] 'before you had taken the step.'

CXLV. FROM CICERO TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 9).

ROME, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero litterarum commercium cum C. Trebatio desiderat, monet ut ad Caesarem se applicet nec praepropere ex provincia redeat.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Iam diu ignoro quid agas : nihil enim scribis, neque ego ad te his duobus mensibus scripseram. Quod cum Quinto fratre meo non eras, quo mitterem aut cui darem nesciebam. Cupio scire quid agas et ubi sis hiematurus. Equidem velim cum Caesare, sed ad eum propter eius *luctum* nihil sum ausus scribere : ad Balbum tamen scripsi. 2. Tu tibi deesse noli. Serius potius ad nos, dum plenior. Quod huc properes nihil est, praesertim Battara mortuo. Sed tibi consilium non deest. Quid constitueris cupio scire. 3. Cn. Octavius est an Cn. Cornelius quidam, tuus familiaris,

summo genere natus, Terrae filius :

is me, quia scit tuum familiarem esse, crebro ad cenam invitavit. Adhuc non potuit perducere : sed mihi tamen gratum est.

1. *luctum*] for the death of his daughter Julia, the wife of Pompeius. Cicero says, Q. Fr. iii. 1, 25, that he did not answer a letter he received from Caesar, *propter eius luctum*. The word *occupationem* was long ago supplied from the next letter to Trebatius (Fam. vii. 10, 1) by Cratander. But T has a *lacuna* of six letters, which is conclusive for *luctum*. Cicero praises the firmness with which Caesar bore his daughter's loss in Q. Fr. iii. 8, 3. Plutarch (Pompeius liii.) tells us that in 699 (55), at the election for the following year, there was a riot, and the garments of Pompeius were stained with the blood of some one who was struck down near him. Pompeius sent the blood-stained garment home, and his wife, who was pregnant, on seeing the blood, fainted. The result of this was a miscarriage. Subsequently, becoming pregnant again, Julia died in giving birth to a female infant, which did not long survive the mother. Plutarch gives an

interesting theory of the source of the love which Julia bore to Pompeius : *αἴτιον ἔοικεν ἢ τε σωφροσύνη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι . . . ἢ τε σεμνότης οὐκ ἄκρατον ἀλλ' εὐχαρίην ἔχουσα τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ μάλιστα γυναικῶν ἀγωγόν*.

2. *plenior*] 'enriched' by Caesar.

Battara] This is supposed to have been a jocular nickname for Vacerra, the teacher of Trebatius, mentioned in the last letter to Trebatius.

3. *an*] See on Ep. viii. § 2.

summo . . . filius] Schneidewin acutely saw that this was a quotation from poetry ; it is the latter part of a trochaic septenarius. It describes a well-born nobody ; a man of high birth, but personally insignificant — an ancient Lord Tomnoddy. The words are very natural as part of a comedy, but Cicero, writing in his own person, would hardly have expressed himself thus.

perducere] sc. ut ad cenam irem.

CXLVI. FROM CICERO TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 17).

ROME, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

Laudat M. Cicero C. Trebatium, quod urbis desiderium tandem deposuerit et hortatur, ut in Caesaris se familiaritem insinuet, ex qua eum magnum fructum capturum esse adfirmat.

CICERO TREBATIO SAL.

1. Ex tuis litteris et Quinto fratri gratias egi et te aliquando collaudare possum, quod iam videris certa aliqua in sententia constitisse. Nam primorum mensium litteris tuis vehementer commovebar, quod mihi interdum—pace tua dixerim—levis in urbis urbanitatisque desiderio, interdum piger, interdum timidus in labore militari, saepe autem etiam, quod a te alienissimum est, subimpudens videbare. |Tamquam enim syngrapham ad imperatorem, non epistolam attulisses, sic pecunia ablata domum redire properabas, nec tibi in mentem veniebat eos ipsos, qui cum syngraphis venissent Alexandream, nummum adhuc nullum auferre potuisse. 2. Ego, si mei commodi rationem ducerem, te mecum esse maxime vellem: non enim mediocri adficebar vel voluptate ex consuetudine nostra vel utilitate ex consilio atque opera tua. Sed cum te ex adolescentia tua in amicitiam et fidem meam contulisses, semper te non modo tuendum mihi, sed etiam augendum atque ornandum putavi. Itaque, quoad opinatus sum me in provinciam exiturum, quae ad te ultro detulerim meminisse te credo.

1. *subimpudens*] ‘a little unreasonable.’ In the letter to Caesar above, Ep. cxxiv., there is a variant *impudentiusculi* for *putidiusculi* (see Adn. Crit. on that letter), which would mean exactly the same as *subimpudens* here.

syngrapham] Trebatius seemed to regard the letter to Caesar as a sort of promissory note: ‘One would have imagined you had carried a bill of exchange upon Caesar, instead of a letter of recommendation.’ He thought he had nothing

to do but go to the camp of Caesar, take possession of his fortune, and go back to the delights of life in Rome.

Alexandream] It appears that Ptolemy cheated his Roman creditors, from whom he had borrowed immense sums of money, to be used as bribes in Rome.

2. *fidem*] ‘protection.’

detulerim] When Cicero thought of going on foreign service as *legatus* to Pompeius, he proposed to take Trebatius with him. See Ep. cxxxiv. § 1.

Postea quam ea mutata ratio est, cum viderem me a Caesare honorificentissime tractari et unice diligi hominisque liberalitatem incredibilem et singularem fidem nossem, sic ei te commendavi et tradidi, ut gravissime diligentissimeque potui. Quod ille grate accepit et mihi saepe litteris significavit et tibi et verbis et re ostendit mea commendatione sese valde esse commotum. Hunc tu virum nactus, si me aut sapere aliquid aut velle tua causa putas, ne dimiseris, et, si quae te forte res aliquando offenderit, cum ille aut occupatione aut difficultate tardior tibi erit visus, perferto et ultima exspectato, quae ego tibi iucunda et honesta praestabo. 3. Pluribus te hortari non debeo: tantum moneo, neque amicitiae confirmandae clarissimi ac liberalissimi viri neque uberius provinciae neque aetatis magis idoneum tempus, si hoc amiseris, te esse ullum umquam reperturum. ‘Hoc,’ quem ad modum vos scribere soletis in vestris libris, ‘idem Q. Cornelio videbatur.’ In Britanniam te profectum non esse gaudeo, quod et labore caruisti et ego te de rebus illis non audiam. Ubi sis hibernaturus et qua spe aut conditione perscribas ad me velim.

grate accepit] I have accepted the reading of T, omitting *et* with M. Thurot, author of a valuable monograph on T (the *Codex Turonensis*) in the *Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études*, 1874, for which see Introd. vol. I². pp. 78–82. The passage as it is usually given, that is with *ita et* for *grate*, seems to me unintelligible. I have suggested in the *Adn. Crit.* to retain *ita et* (the reading of M), and for *ostendit* to read *ut ostenderit*. The meaning would then be ‘which he received with such kindness (and the same feeling he intimated to me often by letter, and to you both in words and deed) as to show that he attached great weight to my introduction.’

tardior] sc. *in te augendo et ornando*.
praestabo] ‘I will guarantee, warrant.’

3. *amicitiae . . . tempus*] The genitives *amicitiae confirmandae*, *provinciae*, and *aetatis* all depend on *tempus*; the gen. *clar. et lib. viri* depends on *amicitiae*,

‘I only warn you, you will never again get a more favourable opportunity for securing the friendship of a most illustrious and generous patron, never the opportunity of a richer province, never a more suitable period in your own life.’ The sentence is awkwardly expressed, but there is no reason to doubt its soundness: *uberis provinciae* (sc. *capessendae*) would have been more precise; but *uberis* is, as it were, attracted into the comparative by the prevailing character of the sentence.

idem . . . videbatur] Cornelius, the teacher of Trebatius, is jestingly said to have given ‘counsel’s opinion,’ in favour of Cicero’s view.

caruisti . . . audiam] ‘because you were saved the trouble of the journey, and on my own deliverance from your descriptions of Britain and your exploits there. Observe the distinction between the indicative and subjunctive, the former expressing an objective fact, the latter a subjective impression: Roby, 1744, 1745.

CXLVII. FROM CICERO TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS.

(Q. FR. II. 15 (16).)

ROME, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero scribit de negotiis suis, quid sit in senatu actum, quae sint habita iudicia aut instent, materiam carminis scribendi, superata a Caesare Britannia, fratri gratulatur et quid de suis versibus Caesar iudicet sciscitatur.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Cum a me litteras librarii manu acceperis, ne paullum *quidem* me otii habuisse iudicato, cum autem mea, paullum. Sic enim habeto, numquam me a causis et iudiciis districtiorem fuisse atque id anni tempore gravissimo et caloribus maximis. Sed haec, quoniam tu ita praescribis, ferenda sunt, neque committendum ut aut spei aut cogitationi vestrae ego videar defuisse, praesertim cum, si id difficilius fuerit, tamen ex hoc labore magnam gratiam magnamque dignitatem sim collecturus. Itaque, ut tibi placet, damus operam, ne cuius animum offendamus atque ut etiam ab iis ipsis, qui nos cum Caesare tam coniunctos dolent, diligamur, ab aequis vero aut etiam [a] propensis in hanc partem vehementer et colamur et amemur. 2. De ambitu cum atrocissime ageretur in senatu multos

1. *vestrae*] 'of you and Caesar.'

[a]] Wes. rightly brackets the *a*. The meaning is: 'I am doing my best to gain the good will even of those who do not love to see me bound by so close ties to Caesar; and the respect and love of those who are somewhat disposed to Caesar's cause or even its violent adherents.' If the *a* were sound there would be three classes mentioned: (1) the opponents of Caesar, like the consul Domitius and M. Porcius Cato; (2) those who were slightly disposed in favour of Caesar; (3) the warm adherents of Caesar. Reading *a*, then the sentence would imply that it would be more difficult for Cicero, by

his devotion to the cause of Caesar, to gain the respect and affection of the lukewarm supporters than of the warm adherents of Caesar, which would be absurd. Omitting *a*, we have only two classes: (1) the opponents of Caesar; (2) those who were somewhat disposed in his favour, or were even warm adherents. *Aequus* is not 'neutral,' 'impartial.' It always means 'favourably disposed,' influenced by *benevolentia*. The *iustus* gives only what is strictly due; the *aequus* gives more. See above, cf. Ep ix. § 2. Wes. compares *in multas ac diversas aut etiam contrarias partes*, de Divin. ii. 55.

dies, quod ita erant progressi candidati consulares, ut non esset ferendum, in senatu non fui. Statui ad nullam medicinam rei publicae sine magno praesidio accedere. 3. Quo die haec scripsi, Drusus erat de praevaricatione a tribunis aerariis absolutus, in summa, quattuor sententiis, cum senatores et equites damuassent. Ego eodem die post meridiem Vatinius eram defensurus. Ea res facilis est. Comititia in mensem Sept. reiecta sunt. Scauri iudicium statim exercebatur, cui nos non deerimus. Συνδείπνους Σοφοκλέους, quamquam a te actam fabellam video esse festive, nullo modo probavi. 4. Venio nunc ad id, quod nescio an primum esse debuerit. O iucundas mihi tuas de Britannia litteras! Timebam Oceanum, timebam littus insulae. Reliqua non equidem contemno, sed plus habent tamen spei quam timoris, magisque sum sollicitus exspectatione ea quam metu. Te vero ὑπόθεσιν scribendi egregiam habere video. Quos tu situs, quas naturas rerum et locorum, quos mores, quas gentes, quas pugnas, quem vero ipsum imperatorem habes! Ego te libenter, ut rogas, quibus rebus vis adiuvabo et tibi versus quos rogas, hoc est, Athenas noctuam mittam. 5. Sed

2. *candidati consulares*] Memmius, Calvinus, Messala, Scaurus.

sine magno praesidio] ‘without a good backing.’

3. *Drusus*] This is Livius Drusus Claudianus, whose daughter was Livia, the mother of the Emperor Tiberius.

Comitia] sc. *consularia*. No election took place till the seventh month of 701 (53), τὰς τε ἀρχὰς . . . μόλις ποτὲ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ μηνὶ ἀπέδειξαν, Dio. Cass. xl. 17.

Συνδείπνους Σοφοκλέους] There was a satyric drama of Sophocles called *Σύνδειπνοι*, founded on the indignation of Achilles on being excluded from some banquet in Tenedos. Some similar incident, it is conjectured, must have occurred in the camp of Caesar. Cicero says he did not like the incident, though Quintus played his part well. The same drama is also referred to as *Σύνδειπνον* and as *Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος*. Of the fragments of this drama which remain, there is one which describes a riotous (probably drunken) freak, which may be referred to here:—

ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ θυμῷ τὴν κάκοσμον οὐράνην
ἔρριψεν οὐδ' ἤμαρτε περὶ δ' ἐμῷ κάρῳ
κατάγνυται τὸ τεύχος οὐ μύρου πνέον'
ἐδειματούμεν δ' οὐ φίλης ὁσμῆς ὕπο.

Or possibly Quintus had dropped some hint about leaving the camp of Caesar. The *Σύνδειπνοι* seems to have turned on a threat of Achilles that he would sail away. Cicero perhaps dissuades Quintus from taking this step, but approves of the way in which he mooted the matter to Caesar.

4. *Reliqua non equidem contemno*] ‘I do not underrate what you have still to do; but there is more in your prospects for hope than fear. What made me anxious was not fear for your future, but anxiety to hear whether all was going on as I hoped.’ He refers to the impression produced on Caesar by Quintus. He had been afraid that they might meet a storm in the voyage to Britain, or that they might be wrecked in trying to effect a landing on its barbarous coast. These fears were now dispelled by Quintus’ letter from Britain.

versus] In Q. Fr. iii. 4, 4, he says he rates his brother’s poetical faculties higher than his own. Hence to send him verses for his poem on Caesar’s exploits would be sending ‘coals to Newcastle,’ or in ancient phrase ‘owls to Athens,’ where the bird itself was common, but still more, its image stamped on coins. Similar proverbs were: σῖτον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, κρόκον εἰς

heus tu, celari videor a te. Quomodonam, mi frater, de nostris versibus Caesar? nam primum librum se legisse scripsit ad me ante, et prima sic, ut neget se ne Graeca quidem meliora legisse. Reliqua ad quemdam locum ῥαθυμότερα. Hoc enim utitur verbo. Dic mihi verum, num aut res eum aut χαρακτήρ non delectat? Nihil est quod vereare. Ego enim ne pilo quidem minus me amabo. Hac de re φιλαλήθως et, ut soles, scribe fraterne.

Κιλικίαν, πύξον ἐς Κύτωρον, ἰχθῦς εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον, Cp. *in silvam . . . ligna*, Hor. Sat. i. 10, 34.

5. *nostris versibus*] *de temporibus suis*.
ῥαθυμότερα] 'the rest, up to a certain passage, was a little careless.'

res aut χαρακτήρ] 'the subject or the style.'

utitur] I have retained the reading which all the edd. agree in presenting. But *utimur* is the ms reading; and I am by no means sure that it is not right. Reading *utimur* the meaning would be: 'the rest, up to a certain passage, he seems to think—shall I say a little slipshod.' Cicero uses a word of his own which he thinks conveyed what Cassar thought about part of his poem: ῥαθυ-

μότερα, *hoc enim utimur verbo*, would mean much the same as *hoc ut utamur verbo*. If Caesar had said, ῥαθυμότερα, Cicero would hardly have asked Quintus to find out whether Caesar referred to the subject or the style. But if this is only Cicero's own expression of the view which, as it seemed to him, Caesar took, then he might well ask his brother, 'find out if I am right: is it the style or the subject that he does not like?' The word ῥαθυμότερα would more naturally point out a defect in the style. But the meaning may also be (reading *utimur*), 'the rest of Caesar's criticism, up to a certain place in his letter (where he spoke warmly), seemed less enthusiastic, more indifferent, as I may say, to use the literary cant.'

CXLVIII. FROM CICERO TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 1).

PARTLY FROM ARPINUM AND PARTLY FROM ROME, A. U. C. 700 ;

B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero in praediis Q. fratris se quaedam, maxime in aedificandi ratione, correxisse commemorat et ad quinque Q. fratris de variis rebus epistolas respondet : simul quaedam de rebus Romanis perscribit.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

I. 1. Ego ex magnis caloribus—non enim meminimus maiores—in Arpinati summa cum amoenitate fluminis me refeci ludorum diebus, Philotimo tribulibus commendatis. In Arcano a. d. III. Idus Sept. fui. Ibi Mescidium cum Philoxeno, aquamque, quam ii ducebant non longe a villa, belle sane fluentem vidi, praesertim maxima siccitate, uberiolemque aliquanto sese collecturos esse dicebant. Apud Herum recte erat. In Maniliano offendi Diphilum Diphilo tardiolem. Sed tamen nihil ei restabat praeter balnearia et ambulationem et aviariam. Villa mihi valde placuit, propterea quod summam dignitatem pavimentata porticus habebat : quod mihi nunc denique apparuit, postea quam et ipsa tota patet et columnae politae sunt. Totum in eo est, quod mihi erit curae, tectorium ut concinnum sit. Pavimenta recte fieri videbantur. Cameras quasdam non probavi mutariue iussi. 2. Quo loco in

fluminis] The river Fibrenus, Legg. ii. 1, 1 ; 3, 6. Ern. would read *cum amoenitate tum salubritate*.

ludorum] The *ludi Romani*, held from 4th to 13th Sept., on the Palatine Hill, before the temple of the Great Mother ; then, after two days' intermission, for five days, 16th to 20th, in the Circus Maximus.

tribulibus] Cicero handed over his fellow-tribesmen to Philotimus, his freedman, with directions that he should secure for them accommodation for the games. See Att. ii. 1, 5 (Ep. xxvii.), and *pro Mur.* 72.

Arcano] belonging to Quintus.

Mesc. cum Phil.] probably contractors for the works now being carried out.

Herum] a steward at Arcanum.

Diphilum] an architect. Cicero says he 'surpassed himself' in dilatoriness on this occasion.

2. *Quo loco*] 'I like the antechamber, as it is better than in the portico, where they tell me you say in your letter it is to be built.' The sentence would regularly run *atriolum mihi magis placebat ut est (quam) in eo loco in quo aiunt te scribere ut fiat, sc. in porticu*. Sometimes a 'compactness of expression' occurs, in which

porticu te scribere aiunt ut atriolum fiat, mihi, ut est, magis placebat. Neque enim satis loci videbatur esse atriolo, neque fere solet nisi in iis aedificiis fieri, in quibus est atrium maius, nec habere poterat adiuncta cubicula et eius modi membra. Nunc hoc vel honestate testudinis valde boni aestivi locum obtinebit. Tu tamen si aliter sentis, rescribe quam primum. In balneariis assa in alterum apodyterii angulum promovi, propterea quod ita erant posita, ut eorum vaporarium [ex quo ignis erumpit] esset subiectum cubiculis. Subgrande cubiculum autem et hibernum altum valde probavi, quod et ampla erant et loco posita, ambulationis uno latere, eo, quod est proximum balneariis. Columnas neque rectas neque e regione Diphilus collocarat. Eas scilicet demolietur: aliquando perpendiculo et linea discet uti. Omnino spero paucis mensibus opus Diphili perfectum fore: curat enim diligentissime Caesius, qui tum mecum fuit.

II. 3. Ex eo loco recta Vitularia via profecti sumus in Fufidianum fundum, quem tibi proximis nundinis Arpini de Fufidio HS cccccc emeramus. Ego locum aestate umbrosiorem vidi numquam, permultis locis aquam profluentem et eam uberem. Quid quaeris? Iugera L. prati Caesius irrigaturum facile te arbitrabatur. Equidem hoc, quod melius intellego, adfirmo, mirifica suavitate te villam habiturum, piscina et salientibus additis, palaestra et silva †viridicata. Fundum audio te hunc Bovillanum velle retinere. De eo quid videatur ipse constitues. Calvus aiebat

the relative is used, instead of *quod*, with the demonstrative; hence Cicero here writes *quo in loco in porticu te scribere aiunt ut atriolum fiat*, instead of *quod ibi in porticu*, &c.; cp. nam *quos* ab hominibus pervenisse dicis ad deos, tu reddes rationem quemadmodum fieri potuerit aut cur fieri desierit, N. D. iii. 41, where *quos* = *quod aliquos*.

membra] 'rooms.'

nunc . . . obtinebit] 'now, owing to the very fact that the ceiling has a proper (suitable) curve, it will make an admirable summer-room.' Cp. *honeste vergit* below.

assa] 'Turkish baths,' 'sweating rooms,' so called because there was no immersion in water; so *assus sol*, 'a basking in the sun without previous anointing,' Att. xii. 6, 2.

loco posita] 'in their right position.'

rectas] 'perpendicular;' *e regione* is 'exactly opposite each other.'

perpendiculo et linea] ought both to mean 'plumb-line'; but perhaps here *perpendiculum* refers to the plumb-line which would keep the pillars perfectly perpendicular, *linea* to a measuring string which would ensure that the opposite pillars should be equidistant from each other, and so the two rows should be parallel.

ccccc] 100,000 sesterces = about £850.

salientibus] 'springs,' not *jets d'eau*.

†*viridicata*] See adn. crit. The word *ridicata* there quoted means 'provided with stakes' (*ridicae*) the Greek *χάρακες*, for the support of trees, esp. vines. Hence Kays. would read *silva vitium ridicata*, 'a plantation of vine trees supported on stakes.'

aqua dempta et eius aquae iure constituto et servitute fundo illi ^x imposita, tamen nos pretium servare posse, si vendere vellemus. Mescidium mecum habui. Is se ternis nummis in pedem tecum transegisse dicebat, sese autem mensum pedibus aiebat passuum III CIO. Mihi plus visum est. Sed praestabo sumptum nusquam melius posse poni. Cillonem arcessieram Venafro. Sed eo ipso die quattuor eius conservos et discipulos Venafri cuniculus oppreserat. 4. Idibus Sept. in Laterio fui. Viam perspexi, quae mihi ita placuit, ut opus publicum videretur esse, praeter CL. passus. Sum enim ipse mensus ab eo ponticulo, qui est ad Furinae, Satricum versus. Eo loco pulvis, non glarea iniecta est—id mutabitur—et ea viae pars valde acclivis est. Sed intellexi aliter duci non potuisse, praesertim cum tu neque per Locustae neque per Varronis velles [ducere]. Is unus ante suum fundum probe munierat. Locusta non attigerat: quem ego Romae aggrediar et, ut arbitror, commovebo, et simul M. Taurum, quem tibi audio promisisse, qui nunc Romae erat, de aqua per fundum eius ducenda rogabo. 5. Nicephorum, vilicum tuum, sane probavi, quaesivique ex eo ecquid ei de illa aedificatiuncula Laterii, de qua mecum locutus es, mandavisses. Tum is mihi respondit se ipsum eius operis HS. XVI. conductorem fuisse, sed te postea multa addidisse ad opus, nihil ad pretium: itaque id se omisisse. Mihi mehercule valde placet te illa, ut constitueras, addere: quamquam ea villa, quae nunc est,

aqua . . . imposita] ‘Calvus (prob. a juriconsult) holds that even if the use of the water were not included in the sale, and the right of the vendor over it were established, and the estate were made liable for the water (were made subject to this easement), we could still get our purchase-money for it if we wished to sell.’

is . . . dicebat] ‘he said he had agreed with you (to make the canal) for three sesterces a foot, and that he had calculated the length at three miles.’

4. *Laterio*] Another property of Quintus in Arpinum.

Viam] A road on the construction of which Quintus was now employing labourers.

Furinae] sc. *templum*. The *Furinalia* were on July 25.

Satricum] a town in Latium, on the Appian Way, now *Casale di Conca*.

id mutabitur] ‘this defect will be remedied.’ *Id* refers to the fact that

clay, not gravel, was used; *et* and *id* are very frequently confounded, as Wes. has shown on Q. Fr. i. 2, 10 (Em. Alt. p. 62).

Is unus] ‘He (Varro) was the only one who had properly paved the road where it skirted his property; Locusta had never put a hand to it.’ Quintus seems to have drawn the road in such a way as not to trench on their property, and in return he expected each proprietor to keep the road in repair where it skirted his estate.

5. *HS. XVI.*] 16,000 sesterces = about £140.

illa ut constitueras] ‘I am quite in favour of your carrying out your proposed additions, though the building, in its present (unadorned) condition, is like some sober moralist, whose mission it is to reproach the frivolity of the other villas.’ Observe the force of the subjunctive, ‘(placed thus) to reproach.’

tamquam philosopha videtur esse, quae obiurget ceterarum villarum insaniam. Verum tamen illud additum delectabit. Topiarium laudavi: ita omnia convestivit hedera, qua basim villae, qua intercolumnia ambulationis, ut denique illi palliati topiariam facere videantur et hederam vendere. Iam ἀποδυτηρίῳ nihil alsius, nihil muscosius. 6. Habes fere de rebus rusticis. Urbanam expolitionem urget ille quidem et Philotimus et Cincius, sed etiam ipse crebro intervisto, quod est facile factu. Quam ob rem ea te cura liberatum volo.

III. 7. De Cicerone quod me semper rogas, ignosco equidem tibi, sed tu quoque mihi velim ignoscas. Non enim concedo tibi, plus ut illam ames quam ipse amo. Atque utinam mihi his diebus in Arpinati, quod et ipse cupierat et ego non minus, mecum fuisset! Quod ad Pomponiam, si tibi videtur, scribas velim: cum aliquo exhibimus, eat nobiscum puerumque ducat. Clamores efficiam, si eum mecum habuero otiosus. Nam Romae respirandi non est locus. Id me scis antea gratis tibi esse pollicitum. Quid nunc putas, tanta mihi abs te mercede proposita? 8. Venio nunc ad tuas litteras, quas pluribus epistolis accepi, dum sum in Arpinati. Nam mihi uno die tres sunt redditae, et quidem, ut videbantur, eodem abs te datae tempore: una pluribus verbis, in qua primum erat, quod antiquior dies in tuis fuisset ascripta litteris quam in Caesaris. Id facit Oppius non numquam necessario, ut, cum tabel-

basim] 'the foundation wall.'

vendere] 'This is a strange fancy. Cicero says: 'The place is so clothed with ivy that (ivy is its chief feature, and), in a word, the statues of Greek heroes that stand between the columns seem to have taken to fancy gardening, and to be recommending the ivy to our notice.' No matter what the gesture of each statue is, it seems to be calling attention to the ivy, which is everywhere. For this sense of *vendere* cp. Att. xiii. 12, 2, Ligarianam praeclare vendidisti.

Iam] 'again.'

6. *ille quidem*] 'He (the fancy gardener) is using all despatch in the adornment of your town house, and he is seconded by Philotimus (Terentia's steward) and Cincius (the agent of Atticus).'

7. *mihi . . . mecum fuisset*] The *dativus ethicus*; see on Att. iv. 2, 4 (Ep. xci.), and Draeger i. p. 433. In *qui mihi accubantes*

in convivio, Catil. ii. 10, we have a stronger case of the ethical dative. Render 'would that I had had the pleasure of his company with me.' All the edd. omit the *mihi* of the mss. Cp. Ter. Heaut. iv. 6, 16, scin ubi nunc sit *tibi* tua Bacchis.

Clamores] 'I shall bring down the house (with applause of his progress) if I have the boy with me when I am at leisure. I have not time to draw breath at Rome.'

mercede] 'the gratitude and affection of Quintus and the boy.' There is a similar expression at the end of Q. Fr. iii. 3.

8. *litteras . . . epistolis*] 'letters' . . . 'packets.' In Fam. v. 8, 5 (Ep. cxxxii.) there is a quite different antithesis between *litterae*, 'a formal document,' and *epistola*, 'a mere letter.'

antiquior dies] 'an earlier date.'

facit . . . ut impediatur] literally 'makes a practice of being prevented;'

larios constituerit mittere litterasque a nobis acceperit, aliqua re nova impediatur et necessario serius quam constituerat mittat, neque nos datis iam epistolis diem commutari curemus. 9. Scribis de Caesaris summo in nos amore. Hunc et tu fovebis et nos quibuscumque poterimus rebus augebimus. De Pompeio et facio diligenter et faciam quod mones. Quod tibi mea permissio mansionis tuae grata est, id ego, summo meo dolore et desiderio, tamen ex parte gaudeo. In Hippodamis et non nullis aliis arcessendis quid cogites non intellego. Nemo istorum est quin abs te munus fundi suburbani instar exspectet. Trebatium vero meum quod isto admisceas nihil est. Ego illum ad Caesarem misi, qui mihi iam satis fecit. Si ipsi minus, praestare nihil debeo, teque item ab eo vindico et libero. Quod scribis te a Caesare cotidie plus diligi, immortaliter gaudeo. Balbum vero, qui est istius rei, quem ad modum scribis, adiutor, in oculis fero. Trebonium meum a te amari teque ab illo pergaudeo. 10. De tribunatu quod scribis, ego vero nominatim petivi Curtio et mihi ipse Caesar nominatim Curtio paratum esse rescripsit meamque in rogando verecundiam obiurgavit.

that is, 'he often finds himself prevented.' This use of *facere* with subj. is commented on at Ep. xii. §§ 42, 47, 50, above. But this is a very curious example of the usage, for *curemus*, as well as *impediatur*, must depend loosely on *facit*. 'Oppius often finds himself prevented from forwarding the letters by something that turns up; so he often sends them later than he had intended; and I don't correct the dates of the letters already consigned to him.' The passage might thus be rendered, to bring out clearly the *definitive* or *explanatory* character of the subjunctive: 'of that (the wrong date) Oppius often is the cause, that is, he finds himself prevented . . . so we do not see to the correction of the date.' The change of *curemus* to *curamus* has been proposed without reason.

9. *permissio mansionis tuae*] given in Q. Fr. ii. 14 (15 b), 3 (Ep. cxlii.).

id . . . gaudeo] For this cognate accusative ep. I². p. 62.

summo] 'though I am pining sadly for your return;' for this *ablativeus modi* see on Fam. v. 8, 4 (Ep. cxxxii.).

Hippodamis] 'men like Hippodamus;' ep. Att. iv. 3, 3 (Ep. xcii.), *omnes Catilinas Acidinos postea reddidit*, 'every one who was a Catiline for ruffianism he made

to appear thenceforth as respectable as an Acidinus.' See § 21.

isto admisceas] *Isto* = *istuc*, and is a word affected by Cicero in his letters, and frequent in the comic drama; *admisceas isto* = *admisceas in* (or *ad*) *istos*. Cicero says: 'you have no reason to include Trebatius in the class of persons like Hippodamus, who will look to have a small property settled on them by you, if you give them any encouragement. I have handed him over to Caesar, who has already made me feel quite easy about his future. If he has not quite done the same for Trebatius himself, I am not responsible for that; I hold you all the same under no obligation to push his fortunes.'

immortaliter] See I². Introduction, p. 69.

in oculis fero] 'is as the apple of my eye;' cp. *in sinu fero*, Q. Fr. ii. 11, 13 (Ep. cxxxv.).

Trebonius] Gaius, who, as tribune, had the preceding year proposed the law giving to the consuls, Pompeius and Crassus, the government of Spain and Syria for five years.

pergaudeo] See I². Introd. p. 69.

10. *tribunatu*] *sc. militum*.

Si cui praeterea petiero—id quod etiam Oppio dixi, ut ad illum scriberet,—facile patiar mihi negari, quoniam illi, qui molesti sunt, sibi negari a me non facile patiuntur. Ego Curtium—id quod ipsi dixi—non modo rogatione, sed etiam testimonio tuo diligo, quod litteris tuis studium illius in salutem nostram facile perspexi. De Britannicis rebus cognovi ex tuis litteris nihil esse nec quod metuamus nec quod gaudeamus. De publicis negotiis, quae vis ad te Tironem scribere, neglegentius ad te ante scribebam, quod omnia minima maxima ad Caesarem mitti sciebam.

IV. 11. Rescripsi epistolae maximae. Audi nunc de minuscula, in qua primum est de Clodii ad Caesarem litteris: in quo Caesaris consilium probo, quod tibi amantissime petenti veniam non dedit, uti ullum ad illam furiam verbum rescriberet. Alterum est de Calventii Marii oratione. Quod scribis miror, tibi placere me ad eam rescribere, praesertim cum illam nemo lecturus sit, si ego nihil rescripsero, meam in illum pueri omnes tamquam dictata perdiscant. Libros meos, omnes quos expectas, inchoavi, sed con-

id quod] 'and I told O. to tell him this in writing to him.' 'My friends,' says Cicero, 'are annoyed if I refuse to give them letters asking for favours; so I will give them; but I shall not be annoyed if the favours be refused.'

non modo rog.] 'not only because you ask me to make him my friend, but because of what you tell me about him.'

studium in sal.] 'how he worked for my restoration from exile.'

11. *veniam non dedit*] Caesar had received a letter from Clodius. Quintus had most politely begged him not to leave it unanswered through any feeling of sympathy with him and his brother, and indignation against their enemy. Caesar 'would not comply with his request by writing a single word in reply to that devil' (*i.e.* Clodius).

Calventii Marii] According to Schütz, who is generally followed, the person referred to is L. Piso Caesoninus. He is called *Calventius* from his maternal grandfather; and is called *Marius* because he is compared with C. Marius in the *orat. in Pisonem*, 20. It seems that L. Piso, after his return from the province of Syria, wrote a speech against Cicero. If the passage in the *orat. in Pisonem* is to be used for the elucidation of this, the case stands thus:

when Marius and Saturninus sought to procure the ruin and exile of Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, Saturninus brought forward an agrarian law with the clause that every senator should swear obedience to it within five days, on pain of a fine and expulsion from the senate. Metellus refused, and was expelled the senate. But Saturninus, not satisfied with this, proposed his exile. Metellus could have easily resisted this oppression, but he retired from Rome rather than be the cause of civil dissension. Cicero often mentions his action in this matter with admiration, e.g. in *Pison.* 20; *pro Planc.* 89. Accordingly Cicero must here be supposed to compare Piso with Marius, and himself with Metellus, who, for high reasons, declined a contest in which he might have been victor. *Calventius Marius* would then mean 'that Piso (nick-named by Cicero *Calventius*), who plays Marius to my Metellus;' that is, 'whom I could easily defeat, but will not meet.' Cicero nicknames him in the *in Pison.* 14, *Caesoninus Semiplacentinus Calventius*, because his father was married to a daughter of Calventius, an Insubrian Gaul.

meam in illum] 'while every boy reads mine against Piso (delivered the year before) as a school exercise.'

Libros] de Republica.

ficere non possum his diebus. Orationes efflagitatas pro Scauro et pro Plancio absolvi. Poëma ad Caesarem, quod institueram, incidi. Tibi quod rogas, quoniam ipsi fontes iam sitiunt, si quid habebō spatii, scribam. 12. Venio ad tertiam. Balbum quod ais mature Romam bene comitatum esse venturum mecumque adsidue usque ad Id. Maias futurum, id mihi pergratum perque iucundum. Quod me in eadem epistola, sicut saepe antea, cohortaris ad ambitionem et ad laborem, faciam equidem, sed quando vivemus? 13. Quarta epistola mihi reddita est Id. Sept. quam a. d. IIII. Id. Sext. ex Britannia dederas. In ea nihil sane erat novi praeter Erigonam, quam si ab Oppio accepero, scribam ad te quid sentiam, nec dubito quin mihi placitura sit. Et, quod *paene* praeterii, de eo quem scripsisti de Milonis plausu scripsisse ad Caesarem, ego vero facile patior ita Caesarem existimare, illum quam maximum fuisse plausum. Et prorsus ita fuit, et tamen ille plausus, qui illi datur, quodam modo nobis videtur dari. 14. Reddita etiam mihi est pervetus epistola, sed sero adlata, in qua de aede Telluris et de porticu Catuli me admones. Fit utrumque diligenter. Ad Telluris quidem etiam tuam statuam locavi. Item de hortis me quod admones, nec fui umquam valde cupidus et nunc domus suppeditat mihi hortorum amoenitatem. Romam cum venissem a. d. XIII. Kal. Octobr., absolutum offendi in aedibus tuis tectum: quod supra conclavia non placuerat tibi non esse multorum fastigiorum,

his diebus] 'in the course of the next few days.' Contrast *diebus illis*, Ep. xlix. § 4.

incidi] I have 'cut short,' 'broken off,' 'stopped writing.' Above, Att. iv. 2, 5, he uses the same phrase of the 'clipping of his wings,' i.e. the humiliation inflicted on him by his exile, *qui mihi pinnae inciderant nolunt easdem renasci*.

ipsi fontes] 'since you, who are the very fount of poesy, have run dry.' *Tibi quod rogas* is 'what you ask for yourself,' that is, 'the verses which you want from me to use as your own in your poem on the exploits of Caesar.'

12. *bene comitatum*] 'in good company,' that is, 'with plenty of money.'

quando vivemus] 'when shall I be allowed to live.' Cicero means that he is living his life only when he is allowed to eschew politics, and devote himself to study in one of his suburban villas.

13. *Erigonam*] a tragedy by Quintus.

de eo quem] 'about the correspondent who, you say, wrote to Caesar an account of the applause given to Milo' (by the people in the theatre, as a recognition of a recent spectacle of great magnificence given by Milo as aedile). The reading of 1, *de eo quod*, seems more natural, 'concerning the account which you say you wrote to Caesar of the applause given to Milo;' but I is a very unsafe guide.

14. *aede Telluris*] See on Q. Fr. ii. 7 (9), 2 (Ep. exix.).

domus . . . amoenitatem] This perhaps throws light on the phrase *hortus domi est* above, Q. Fr. ii. 8, 4 (Ep. cxxii.). See the note there.

supra conclavia] The *conclavia* were the day rooms, dining rooms, &c., as opposed to the *cubicula*, or sleeping rooms. Quintus did not wish that this roof should have many gables, and Cicero tells him 'it has now a pretty slope down to the roof of the lower portico.'

id nunc honeste vergit in tectum inferioris porticus. Cicero noster, dum ego absum, non cessavit apud rhetorem. De eius eruditione quod labores nihil est, quoniam ingenium eius nosti, studium ego video. Cetera eius *sic* suscipio, ut me putem praestare debere.

V. 15. Gabinium tres adhuc factiones postulant: L. Lentulus, flaminis filius, qui iam de maiestate postulavit, Ti. Nero cum bonis subscriptoribus, C. Memmius tribunus pl. cum L. Capitone. Ad urbem accessit a. d. XII. Kal. Octobr. Nihil turpius nec desertius. Sed his iudiciis nihil audeo confidere. Quod Cato non valebat, adhuc de pecuniis repetundis non erat postulatus. Pompeius a me valde contendit de reditu in gratiam, sed adhuc nihil profecit nec, si ullam partem libertatis tenebo, proficiet. Tuas litteras vehementer exspecto. 16. Quod scribis te audisse in candidatorum consularium coitione me interfuisse, id falsum est. Eius modi enim pactiones in ea coitione factae sunt, quas postea Memmius patefecit, ut nemo bonus interesse debuerit, et simul mihi committendum non fuit ut iis coitionibus interesssem, quibus Messalla excluderetur, cui quidem vehementer satis facio rebus omnibus, ut arbitror, etiam Memmio. Domitio ipsi multa iam feci, quae voluit quaeque a me petivit. Scaurum beneficio defensionis valde obligavi. Adhuc erat valde incertum et quando comitia et qui consules futuri essent. 17. Cum hanc iam epistolam complicarem, tabellarii a vobis venerunt a. d. XI. Kal. [Sept.] vicensimo die. O me sollicitum! quantum ego dolui in Caesaris suavissimis litteris! Sed quo erant suaviores, eo maiorem dolorem illius ille casus adferebat. Sed ad tuas venio litteras. Primum tuam reman-sionem etiam atque etiam probo, praesertim cum, ut scribis, cum Caesare communicaris. Oppium miror quidquam cum Publio;

cetera] 'all the rest which appertains to his education (beside his ability and application) I take on myself with such confidence, that I fancy I am bound to make myself responsible for its excellence.' But perhaps Kayser is right in omitting *sic*, which has no ms authority, and reading *puto* for *putem*, 'the rest I take on myself, as, indeed, I think I am in duty bound to take the responsibility.'

15. *tres factiones postulant*] Lentulus *de maiestate*, the others *de repetundis*. He was acquitted on the first charge, and found guilty on the second.

Cato] M. Cato, who was praetor.

non valebat] = aegrotabat.

nec proficiet] but he did succeed, for Cicero shortly after defended Gabinus.

17. *casus*] used especially of a domestic affliction; ep. *vellem in meo gravissimo casu adfuisses*, Fam. iv. 6, 1, a letter written by Cicero to Sulpicius on the occasion of Tullia's death. This passage does not imply that Cicero had not heard of Julia's death before. He has already twice referred to it. This was the first time that Caesar wrote to him about it.

Publio] Clodius. He is surprised that Oppius should have had anything to do with him.

mihi enim non placuerat. 18. Quod interiore epistola scribis me Idib. Sept. Pompeio legatum iri, id ego non audiui scripsique ad Caesarem *neque* Vibullium Caesaris mandata de mea mansione ad Pompeium pertulisse nec Oppium. Quo consilio *nescio*. Quamquam Oppium ego tenui, quod priores partes Vibullii erant. Cum eo enim coram Caesar egerat, ad Oppium scripserat. Ego vero nullas *δευτέρας φροντίδας* habere possum in Caesaris rebus. Ille mihi secundum te et liberos nostros ita est, ut sit paene par. Videor id iudicio facere—iam enim debeo—sed tamen amore sum incensus.

VI. 19. Cum scripsissem haec infima, quae sunt mea manu, venit ad nos Cicero tuus ad cenam, cum Pomponia foras cenaret. Dedit mihi epistolam legendam tuam, quam paullo ante acceperat, Aristophaneo modo, valde mehercule et suavem et gravem: qua

18. *interiore ep.*] This is explained by Man. to mean 'the end of the letter.' He holds that letters were not folded as with us, but formed into a roll. The letter was rolled up from the bottom, according to him, so that the *end* of the letter would be the inmost part of the roll. He founds this theory on a passage, Fam. iii. 7, 2, *legati mihi volumen a te plenum querellae . . . reddiderunt . . . eadem autem epistola*. But there is no sufficient evidence that letters were thus rolled in a cylindrical shape. *Volumen* only means 'a letter as long as a book,' *Complicare* is the verb used for 'to fold.' Accordingly *interiore ep.* more probably means 'the body (middle) of the letter,' on the analogy of *interiora aedium*, &c. Cicero, as usual, goes right through the letter of his correspondent, dealing with beginning, middle, and end in succession.

me Pompeio legatum iri] The train of thought is as follows:—'You speak of my going to Spain with Pompeius as his lieutenant; I have heard nothing about it; but I wrote [such is the force of *que* after *non*] to Caesar at once, and told him that neither Vibullius nor Oppius had delivered to Pompeius his message about me, that I should remain in Rome. What they meant by not delivering the message I cannot imagine. Yet [I am wrong; Oppius is not to be blamed] I prevented Oppius from delivering the message, because I thought Vibullius had a prior claim to do so, as he had had a personal

interview with Caesar, and Oppius only a letter. [As touching the question you put to me], I assure you I had no second thought, nor could I have such, in any matter concerning Caesar. He comes next to you and the children in my affection, and so near that he almost comes up to them. I think I act on due deliberation in thus regarding Caesar—for I am sure I have good reason for it—yet I know I am carried away by my feelings nevertheless.' Quintus had asked Cicero: 'Was your resolve to remain in Rome in compliance with Caesar's wish a second thought?' For *ego* and *vero* pointing to a question, and introducing the answer, see on Fam. xiv. 4, 1 (Ep. lxii.). When Cicero heard from Quintus that there was a rumour that he was going to Spain as *legatus* to Pompeius, he was anxious lest Caesar should suppose that Vibullius or Oppius had already conveyed to Pompeius the wish of Caesar, that Cicero should remain in Rome, and that Pompeius was, nevertheless, running counter to that wish, and taking Cicero with him. Cicero was desirous that Caesar's wish should be communicated to Pompeius, lest he should offend the latter by refusing the *legatio*. For *iudicio* one would rather have expected *officio*.

δευτέρας φροντίδας] αἱ δεύτεραι πρὸς φροντίδες σοφώτεραι, Eur. Hippol. 436. To a similar purport is ψεύδει γὰρ ἡ πλῖνοια τὴν γνώμην, Soph. Ant. 389.

19 *Arist. modo*] It is impossible to decide whether this means 'as full of wit

sum admodum delectatus. Dedit etiam alteram illam mihi, qua iubes eum mihi esse adfixum tamquam magistro. Quam illum epistolae illae delectarunt! quam me! Nihil puero illo suavius, nihil nostri amantius. Hoc inter cenam Tironi dictavi, ne mirere alia manu esse. 20. Annali pergratae litterae tuae fuerunt, quod et curares de se diligenter et tamen consilio se verissimo iuwares. P. Servilius pater ex litteris, quas sibi a Caesare missas esse dicebat, significat valde te sibi gratum fecisse, quod de sua voluntate erga Caesarem humanissime diligentissimeque locutus esses. 21. Cum Romam ex Arpinati revertissem, dictum mihi est Hippodamum ad te profectum esse. Non possum scribere me miratum esse illum tam inhumaniter fecisse, ut sine meis litteris ad te proficisceretur: illud scribo, mihi molestum fuisse. Iam enim diu cogitaveram ex eo, quod tu ad me scripseras, ut, si quid esset quod ad te diligentius sperferri vellem, illi darem; quod mehercule hisce litteris, quas vulgo ad te mitto, nihil fere scribo, quod si in alicuius manus inciderit, moleste ferendum sit. Minucio me et Salvio et Labeoni reservabam. Labeo aut tarde proficiscetur aut hic manebit. Hippodamus ne numquid vellem quidem rogavit. 22. T. Pinaris amabiles ad me de te litteras mittit: se maxime litteris, sermonibus, cenis denique tuis delectari. Is homo semper me delectavit fraterque eius mecum est multum. Qua re, uti institui, complectere adolescentem.

VII. 23. Quod multos dies epistolam in manibus habui propter commorationem tabellariorum, ideo multa coniecta sunt aliud alio tempore, velut hoc. T. Anicius mihi saepe iam dixit sese tibi, suburbanum si quod invenisset, non dubitaturum esse emere. In

as Aristophanes, the comic poet,' or 'as full of sound criticism (of the boy's style, &c.) as Aristophanes of Byzantium, the critic:' *suavem* perhaps rather points to the former view.

20. *Annali*] L. Villius Annalis, a senator, as we learn from *Fam.* vii. 8, 5.

21. *iam enim diu*] 'From what you wrote to me I had long since resolved to make use of him if I had any very special message for you; inasmuch as in my ordinary correspondence with you I hardly ever say anything which would be annoying if it fell into any one's hands.' Lit. '[of such a nature] that if it fell

into any one's [perhaps Caesar's] hands it would give me annoyance.'

me reservabam] i.e. *meas litteras reservabam*.

ne numquid vellem] 'never even so much as asked me whether I had any commands.' This was a common formula of leave-taking, even when no commission was expected; an *abeuntis formula*, as Ussing calls it on *Pl. Amph.* 538. A somewhat similar mode of expression, when not used in leave-taking, seems to have been regarded as rude, as may be inferred from *Pl. Amph.* iv. 2, 5:

MERC. *Quid nunc vis?* AMPH. *Scelestē, ut etiam quid velim id tu me rogas?*

eius sermone ego utrumque soleo admirari, et te de suburbano emendo, cum ad illum scribas, non modo ad me non scribere, sed etiam aliam in sententiam scribere, et cum ad illum scribas, nihil te recordari [de se] de epistolis illis, quas in Tusculano eius tu mihi ostendisti, nihil de praeceptis Epicharmi, γνῶθι πῶς ἄλλω κέχρηται: totum denique vultum, sermonem, animum eius, quem ad modum coniicio, quasi *dedidicisse*. Sed haec tu videris. 24. De suburbano cura ut sciam quid velis, et simul ne quid ille turbet vide. Quid praeterea? Quid? Etiam. Gabinius a. d. IIII. Kal. Octobr. noctu in urbem introierat, et hodie H. VIII., cum edicto C. Alfii de maiestate eum adesse oporteret, concursu magno et odio universi populi paene adflictus est. Nihil illo turpius. Proximus tamen est Piso. Itaque mirificum ἐμβόλιον cogito in secundum [librum] meorum librorum includere, dicentem Apollinem in concilio deorum qualis reditus duorum imperatorum futurus esset, quorum alter exercitum perdidisset, alter vendidisset. 25. Ex Britannia Caesar ad me Kal. Sept. dedit litteras, quas ego accepi a. d. IIII. Kal. Octobr., satis commodas de Britannicis rebus, quibus, ne admirer, quod a te nullas acceperim, scribit se sine te fuisse, cum ad mare accesserit. Ad eas ego ei litteras nihil rescripsi, ne gratulandi quidem causa, propter eius luctum. Te oro etiam atque etiam mi frater, ut valeas.

23. *Epicharmi*] Cp. the oft-quoted νᾶφε καὶ μέμνας' ἀπιστεῖν, ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν. Cicero wonders that Quintus had forgotten Epicharmus' rule for judging how a man will behave to you, viz., how has he behaved to others?

24. *ille*] Anicius.

H.] = *hora*.

C. Alfii] sc. *praetoris*.

proximus] L. Piso, called Calventius

above, 'comes next to' Gabinius in unpopularity.

ἐμβόλιον] 'an *addendum*' to the 2nd book of his poem, 'de temporibus suis.

perdidisset] Piso, in unsuccessful wars provoked with the tribes adjoining his province.

vendidisset] Gabinius; in restoring Ptolemy Auletes for a bribe.

CXLIX. FROM CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IV. 17).

ROME, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

De commercio litterarum, de infamia consulum, de C. Memmio candidato, de Messallae et Domitii spe consulatus, de Scauri liberalitate, de senatu hoc ipso die futuro, de iudiciis impendentibus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Puto te existimare me nunc oblitum consuetudinis et instituti mei rarius ad te scribere quam solebam, sed, quoniam loca et itinera tua nihil habere certi video, neque in Epirum neque Athenas neque in Asiam neque *quoquam* cuiquam nisi ad te ipsum proficiscenti dedi litteras. Neque enim *eae* sunt epistolae nostrae, quae si perlatae non sint, nihil ea res nos offensura sit, quae tantum habent mysteriorum, ut eas ne librariis quidem fere committamus, lepidum *quid ne* quo excidat. 2. Consules flagrant infamia, quod C. Memmius candidatus pactionem in senatu recitavit, quam ipse suusque competitor Domitius cum consulibus fecisset, uti ambo HS. quadragena consulibus darent, si essent ipsi consules facti, nisi tris augures dedissent, qui se adfuisse dicerent, cum lex curiata ferretur, quae non lata esset, et duo consulares, qui se dicerent in ornandis provinciis consularibus scribendo adfuisse, cum omnino ne senatus quidem [*ea die*] fuisset. Haec pactio non verbis, sed

1. *lepidum*] 'lest some joke of mine should get wind in some direction,' that is, 'should come to the knowledge of some one' (save my correspondent). This correction I put forward in *Hermathena* in 1874; and I still think it is the simplest correction of the text. I only insert *quid ne* between *lepidum* and *quo*. This is a case of ἀβλεψία very common in copyists. The copyist saw that *lepidum* was followed by the letters *qu-*, perhaps raised his eyes for a moment, and went on at the wrong *qu-*, writing *lepidum quo excidat*, instead of *lepidum quid ne quo excidat*. For the meaning of *excidere*, cp. De Or. i. 94, *libello qui me imprudente et invito excidit*

et pervenit in manus hominum. The verb is rightly followed by *quo* = *aliquo*, as implying a state of motion. *Quid* often = *aliquid* in Cic., sometimes with adj. as *ne cui falso adsentiamur*, Fin. iii. 72; *quo* is 'any whither' in Att. viii. 3, *fin*.

2. *infamia*] See n. on Ep. cxlii. § 4. *competitor*] This is added to distinguish Domitius Calvinus, the competitor of Memmius, from Domitius Ahenobarbus, one of the existing consuls.

non verbis] The compact was not a mere verbal one, but was drawn up in due form as a binding instrument, (1) *nominibus*, by entering the money to debit and credit in the accounts of the parties

nominibus et perscriptionibus, multorum tabulis eum esse facta diceretur, prolata a Memmio est nominibus inductis, auctore Pompeio. Hic Appius erat idem: nihil sane iacturae. Corruerat alter et plane, inquam, iacebat. 3. Memmius autem dirempta coitione invito Calvino plane refrixerat, et eo magis nunc hoc iacet [ep. XVI. 6] quod iam intellegebamus enuntiationem illam Memmii valde Caesari displicere. Messalla noster et eius Domitius competitor liberalis in populo valde fuit. Nihil gratius. Certi erant consules. At senatus decernit, UT TACITUM IUDICIUM ANTE COMITIA FIERET AB IIS CONSILIIS, QUAE ERANT † OMNIBUS † SORTITA, IN SINGULOS

respectively; (2) *perscriptionibus*, by giving the consuls an order on certain bankers for the money to be paid if they carried out their part of the bargain; (3) *multorum tabulis*, the instrument was further attested by several documents, such as depositions from those who had seen the money deposited with the bankers agreed on, or acknowledgments from the bankers, or other securities for the payment of the money.

nominibus inductis] If *inductis* here means, as is generally supposed, 'cancelled,' we must suppose that Memmius, when he had resolved, on the advice of Pompeius, to disclose the plot, went to the consuls and cancelled the whole agreement. We must infer that he now brought it forward with the items of the agreement cancelled, so that they were no longer binding, but yet legible enough to show what the compact had been. Else how could Memmius prove his tale? Boot says, *consules nomina deleverant, non Memmius qui iis sane parcere nolebat*. He appears to take *nomina* as the names of the contracting parties; but if the consuls had got at the instrument which Memmius produced they would have destroyed it. Memmius had his own copy of the *pactio*, and the consuls had theirs. Memmius, of course, produced his own, having first (if *inductis* is *deletis*) cancelled the agreement with the sanction of the consuls, who did not know what he was going to do with the cancelled document. But it seems to me that all the edd. are wrong in explaining *inductis* as 'cancelled.' *Inducere*, of course, means 'to cancel' in other well-known passages in the letters; and this has led edd. astray. Here it means, 'to set down in an account,' as in 2 Verr. i. 106; cp. especially Rull. ii. 98, 70,

for *inducere*, 'to enter' in book-keeping. *Nominibus inductis* means 'with all the items of the compact duly entered,' or, as *nomina* may include the names of the contracting parties, 'with all the entries duly made.' Memmius would naturally lay the compact before the senate just as it stood, and would not have troubled himself to have it cancelled first. The consuls would, of course, never think of trying to enforce it, after the disclosures of Memmius. It is strange that, after all, Domitius Calvinus was finally elected for 701, his colleague being Messalla. Memmius injured himself more than his rival, who was for keeping the compact.

nihil sane iacturae] Appius, who was proverbial for his impudence (Fam. v. 10, 2), was just the same as ever. It did him no harm; but his colleague, Domitius, was utterly knocked down by the blow.

3. *hoc*] = *hac re*, 'his ruin is the more irretrievable for this fact,' that we now learn that Memmius' disclosure is greatly resented by Caesar. I have before illustrated this usage of *hoc*, *eo* for *hac re*, *cu re*, cp. Fam. i. 9, 7, where *in quo* = *in qua re*, and see on Ep. xii. § 13.

cuius Domitius competitor] Again to distinguish the candidate Dom. from the consul Domitius. The order of these words is very singular; but *hyperbaton* (e.g. *de meis ad te rationibus scripsi antea*, Ep. xi. § 1) is a characteristic of the letters.

TACITUM IUDICIUM] A *tacitum iudicium* was a jury whose verdict should not be made public till after the election. It was to be composed of senators only. The trial was to embrace the proceedings of all the candidates, and was to be formed 'of a panel taken by lot from the whole senate.' Probably for *omnibus* we should

CANDIDATOS. Magnus timor candidatorum. Sed quidam iudices, in his Opimius, Veiento, Rantius, tribunos pl. appellarunt, ne iniussu populi iudicarent. Res cedit. Comitia dilata ex senatus consulto, dum lex de tacito iudicio ferretur. Venit legi dies, Terentius intercessit. Consules, qui illud levi brachio egissent, rem ad senatum rettulerunt. Hic Abdera, non tacente me. Dices: 'Tamen tu non quiescis?' Ignosce, vix possum. Verum tamen quid tam ridiculum? Senatus decreverat, ne prius comitia haberentur quam lex lata esset: si qui intercessisset, res integra referretur. Coepta ferri leviter, intercessum non invitis, res ad senatum: de ea re ita censuerunt, comitia primo quoque tempore haberi esse e rep. 4. [ep. XVI. 7.] Scaurus, qui erat paucis diebus illis absolutus, cum ego partem eius ornatissime defendissem, obnuntiationibus per Scaevolam interpositis singulis diebus usque ad pr. Kal. Octobr., quo ego haec die scripsi, sublatis, populo tributim domi suae satis fecerat: sed tamen, etsi uberior liberalitas huius, gratior esse videbatur eorum, qui occupant. Cuperem vultum videre tuum, cum haec leges. Nam profecto spem habes non nullam, haec negotia multarum nundinarum fore. Sed senatus hodie erat futurus, id est, Kal. Octobribus. Iam enim luciscit. Ibi loquetur praeter Antium et Favonium libere nemo. Nam Cato aegrotat. De me nihil timueris, sed tamen promitto nihil. 5. [ep. XVI. 8.] Quid quaeris aliud? Iudicia credo. Drusus,

read *ex omni sen.* (= *senatu*). The form *sortita* is to be accounted for on the principle that the words in small capitals are the words of the decree, and therefore archaic. The language of laws and decrees was always archaic with the Romans as with us. It is a salient feature in early Latin that verbs afterwards only deponent are found with an active form. *Sortio*, as well as many other similar forms, e.g. *amplecto*, *contemplo*, *cuncto*, *frustro*, *intermino*, *potio*, are found in Plautus; and the fragments of Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Naevius, Pacuvius, Afranius, Titinius, afford many instances of active forms of verbs used only as deponent in later Latin.

cedit] 'goes on.' This is a characteristic meaning of *cedere* in Lat. comedy, and therefore a probable usage here. The verb is present like *decernit* above. The vulg. reading *sedet* is quite impossible.

levi brachio] cp. *molli brachio*, Att. ii. 1, 6. Quintilian uses *molli articulo* (Inst. Or. xi. 1, 70) and *molli manu* (ibid. ii. 4, 12).

Abdera] 'a very bedlam to which I contribute my share of noise.' *Abdera* is the typical home of stupidity. Ἀβδηρικόν is 'the act of a maniac,' Att. vii. 7, 4. Cp. Mart. x. 25.

non invitis] 'to the satisfaction of the consuls who were bringing in the law.'

primo quoque tempore] 'at the first opportunity,' 'as soon as possible.' Cp. Phil. iii. 39, viii. 33.

4. *paucis diebus illis*] 'a few days before.' Contrast *his diebus*, 'in the next few days,' cxlviii. § 11.

qui occupant] Messalla and Domitius, who had been distributing their bribes at a time when Scaurus could not stand as a candidate, as he was under prosecution.

Scaurus non fecisse videntur. Tres candidati fore rei putabantur. Domitius a Memmio, Messalla a Q. Pompeio Rufo, Scaurus a Triario aut a L. Caesare. 'Quid poteris, inquires, pro iis dicere?' Ne vivam, *si* scio. In illis quidem libris, quos tu dilaudas, nihil reperio.

CL. FROM CICERO TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS

(Q. FR. III. 2).

ROME, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit Gabinium reversum in urbem male acceptum et in senatu et a Memmio tribuno pl. in contionibus vexatum esse : tum de iudicio eius proxime futuro commemorat. Deinde qui de ambitu rei sint, quae comitiorum spes sit demonstrat.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. A. d. VI. Id. Octobr. Salvius Ostiam vesperi navi profectus erat cum iis rebus, quas tibi domo mitti volueras. Eodem die Gabinium ad populum luculente calefecerat Memmius sic, ut Calidio verbum facere pro eo non licuerit. Postridie autem eius diei |
qui erat tum futurus, cum haec scribebam ante lucem, apud Catonem erat divinatio in Gabinium futura inter Memmium et Ti. Neronem et C. et L. Antonios M. F. Putabamus fore ut Memmio daretur, etsi erat Neronis mira contentio. Quid quaeris? Probe premitur, nisi noster Pompeius dis hominibusque invitis negotium everterit. 2. Cognosce nunc hominis audaciam et aliquid in re

5. *in illis . . . libris*] *De Oratore*.

1. *calefecerat*] 'warmed him,' that is, 'assailed him with vehement invective.' The word is probably chosen here for the sake of a play on the name of *Calidius* who was counsel for Gabinius.

postridie] This furnishes an excellent instance of the inconvenience arising from the Roman habit of regarding time, not the writer's point of view, but his correspondent's. 'The day after to-morrow' becomes in epistolary language 'the day

after the day which was about to arrive at the time when I wrote this letter just before dawn.' The natural way to have expressed the sentence would have been : 'the day after to-morrow ; it is now nearly dawn as I write.' In beginning to read the letters one finds that one has come unto a land in which it seemeth always (not afternoon, but) the day before yesterday.

M. F.] *Marci filios*.

premitur] *sc.* Gabinius.

negotium everterit] 'turns the tables,' 'upsets the combination against Gabinius.'

publica perdita delectare. Cum Gabinius, quacumque veniebat, triumphum se postulare dixisset subitoque bonus imperator noctu in urbem, hostium plane, invasisset, in senatum se non committebat. Interim ipso decimo die, quo eum oportebat hostium *caesorum* numerum et militum renuntiare, irrepsit, summa infrequentia. Cum vellet exire, a consulibus retentus est: introducti publicani. Homo undique saucius, cum a me maxime vulneraretur, non tulit et me trementi voce exsulem appellavit. Hic—o di! nihil umquam honorificentius nobis accidit—consurrexit senatus cum clamore ad unum, sic, ut ad corpus eius accederet: pari clamore atque impetu publicani. Quid quaeris? Omnes, tamquam si tu esses, ita fuerunt. Nihil hominum sermone foris clarius. Ego tamen *me* teneo ab accusando, vix mehercule, sed tamen teneo, vel quod nolo cum Pompeio pugnare—satis est quod instat de Milone—vel quod iudices nullos habemus. Ἀπότρυγμα formido, addo etiam malevolentiam hominum, et timeo ne illi me accusante aliquid accedat, nec despero rem et sine me et non nihil per me confici posse. 3. De

2. *subito*.] that is, 'by a sudden change of purpose.'

hostium plane] thus clearly showing that he knew Rome was a city of enemies to him, and giving evidence of his strategic skill by surprising the hostile fort by night. This is all ironical.

ipso decimo die] On the tenth day after he entered the city. The rule was, that no one should have a triumph unless he had slain in one engagement 5000 enemies. But, Man. shrewdly observes, Gabinius had given up all thoughts of a triumph when he entered the city. Hence Man. conjectures that all governors returning from their provinces were obliged to make some such statement before the senate. The words of Valerius Maximus ii. 8, 1, are as follows:—Ob levia proelia quidam imperatores triumphos sibi decerni desiderabant: quibus ut occurreretur lege cautum est ne quis triumpharet nisi qui quinque millia hostium una acie cecidisset. . . Ceterum ne tum praeclara lex cupiditate laureae oblitteraretur legis alterius adiutorio fulta est quam P. Marcius et M. Cato tribuni pl. tulerunt: poenam enim imperatoribus minatur qui aut hostium occisorum in praelio aut amissorum civium falsum numerum litteris senatui ausi essent referre iubetque eos, cum primum urbem intrassent, apud quae-

tores urbanos iurare de utroque numero vere ab iis senatui esse scriptum.

publicani] of Syria who could not collect their dues, owing to the depredations committed by the pirates during the absence of Gabinius, who was engaged in the unlawful enterprise of restoring Ptolemy: ἐπειδὴ οἱ Σύροι πολλὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν κακωθέντες, κατεβόησαν, οἳ τε τελῶναι μὴ δυνηθέντες τὰ τέλη δι' αὐτοὺς ἐσπρᾶξαι συχνὰ ἐπαφείλησαν, ὠργίζοντο. . . καὶ ἐποίμως εἶχον καταψηφίσασθαι αὐτοῦ, Dio Cass. xxxix. 59.

saucius] 'wounded on every side.' This is my correction of †*tatius* of the ms. The confusion between *c* and *t* occurs in almost every letter. Cp. *saucium eius animum*, Att. i. 17, 1.

ἀπότρυγμα] 'a fiasco.'

accedat] 'lest he should gain an advantage through my being the prosecutor,' owing to the malevolence of Cicero's enemies; cp. *non tam mihi quam vobis accesserit* (see Merguet). *Accedat*, the reading of M. could not by itself = *commode accedat*; used absolutely it would rather mean *incommode accedat*, and this is the contrary to what Cicero plainly means to say.

non nihil per me] by means of the advice which Cicero would give to the counsel for the prosecution.

ambitu postulati sunt omnes, qui consulatum petunt: a Memmio Domitius, a Q. Acutio, bono et erudito adolescente, Memmius, a Q. Pompeio Messalla, a Triario Scaurus. Magno res in motu est, propterea quod aut hominum aut legum interitus ostenditur. Opera datur ut iudicia ne fiant. Res videtur spectare ad interregnum. Consules comitia habere cupiunt: rei nolunt et maxime Memmius, quod Caesaris adventu se sperat futurum consulem. Sed mirum in modum iacet. Domitius cum Messalla certus esse videbatur, Scaurus refrixerat. Appius sine lege curiata confirmat se Lentulo nostro successurum: qui quidem mirificus illo die, quod paene praeterii, fuit in Gabinium: accusavit maiestatis: nomina data, cum ille verbum nullum. Habes forensia. Domi recte est: ipsa domus a redemptoribus tractatur non indiligenter.

3. *a Memmio*] This is C. Memmius the tribune, not to be confounded with C. Memmius Gemellus, the candidate for consulship.

rei nolunt] because they could not become candidates for the consulship while under accusation.

adventu Caesaris] not his arrival in the city which he could not enter, except as a *triumphator*, without forfeiting his *imperium*. Hence Man. thinks that *adventu* refers to the arrival of Caesar in Gallia

Togata, that part of his province in which were *coloniae* and *municipia* invested with the franchise. Memmius hoped that Caesar would influence these in his favour, or even send some of his soldiers to support Memmius at the election. Cp. *Memmius Caesaris commendetur militibus*, Ep. cl. § 6.

nomina data] *sc.* of the witnesses against Gabinius.

ipsa domus] the material edifice itself; he had just used *domi* in the wider sense of 'at home.'

CLI. FROM CICERO TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS

(Q. FR. III. 3).

ROME, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri nuntiat de rebus domesticis non nulla, desiderat litteras eius: comitiorum dilationes commemorat, Gabinium de ambitu reum, Ciceronis Q. filii in rhetore audiendo diligentiam.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Occupationum mearum tibi signum sit librarii manus. Diem scito esse nullum, quo die non dicam pro reo. Ita, quidquid conficio aut cogito, in ambulationis tempus fere confero. Negotia se nostra sic habent, domestica vero, ut volumus. Valent pueri, studiose discunt, diligenter docentur, et nos et inter se amant. Expositiones utriusque nostrum sunt in manibus: † sed tua ad perfectum iam res rustica Arcani et Laterii. Praeterea de aqua, de via nihil praetermisi quadam epistola quin enucleate ad te perscriberem. Sed me illa cura sollicitat angitque vehementer, quod dierum iam amplius L intervallo nihil a te, nihil a Caesare, nihil ex istis locis non modo litterarum, sed ne rumoris quidem adfluxit. Me autem iam et mare istuc et terra sollicitat, neque desino, ut fit in amore, ea, quae minime volo, cogitare. Qua re non equidem iam te rogo, ut ad me de te, de rebus istis scribas—numquam enim, cum potes, praetermittis—sed hoc te scire volo, nihil fere umquam me sic expectasse, ut, cum haec scribebam, tuas litteras. 2. Nunc cognosce ea, quae sunt in re publica. Comitiorum cotidie singuli dies tolluntur obnuntiationibus, magna voluntate bonorum omnium: tanta invidia sunt consules propter suspicionem pactorum a candidatis

1. † *sed . . . rustica*] No certain emendation of this passage has been made. The words *et tuae perfectae iam res rusticae* would represent the sense, though such a reading seems to present nothing to account for the corruption. Cp. Q. Fr. iii. 1, 4–6, to which letter Cicero himself here

refers his brother. There we have *urbana expolitio*, ‘the doing up of the two brothers’ town-houses,’ contrasted with *res rusticae*, ‘the works at Laterium and Arcanum;’ and no doubt the meaning is the same here.

praemiorum. Candidati consulares quattuor omnes rei : causae sunt difficiles, sed enitemur, ut Messalla noster salvus sit, quod est etiam cum reliquorum salute coniunctum. Gabinium de ambitu reum fecit P. Sulla, subscribente privigno Memmio, fratre Caecilio, Sulla filio. Contra dixit L. Torquatus, omnibusque libentibus non obtinuit. 3. Quaeris ‘quid fiet de Gabinio?’ Sciemus de maiestate triduo : quo quidem in iudicio odio premitur omnium generum, maxime testibus caeditur : accusatoribus frigidissimis utitur : consilium varium, quaesitor gravis et firmus, Alfius, Pompeius vehemens in iudiciis rogandis. Quid futurum sit nescio, locum tamen illi in civitate non video. Animum praebeo ad illius perniciem moderatum, ad rerum eventum lenissimum. 4. Habes fere de omnibus rebus. Unum illud addam : Cicero tuus nosterque summe studiosus est Paeonii sui rhetoris, hominis, opinor, valde exercitati et boni. Sed nostrum instituendi genus esse paullo eruditius et *θετικώτερον* non ignoras. Qua re neque ego impediri Ciceronis iter atque illam disciplinam volo, et ipse puer magis illo declamatorio genere duci et delectari videtur—in quo quoniam ipsi quoque fuimus, patiamur illum ire nostris itineribus (eodem enim perventurum esse confidimus) sed tamen, si nobiscum eum rus aliquo eduxerimus, in hanc nostram rationem consuetudinemque inducemus. Magna enim nobis a te proposita merces est, quam certe nostra culpa numquam minus adsequemur. Quibus in locis et qua spe hiematurus sis ad me quam diligentissime scribas velim.

2. *quattuor omnes*] ‘the whole four ;’ not *cand. cons. quattuor, omnes rei* : the usual reading. He had already clearly told his brother several times that there were four candidates.

privigno Memmio] C. Memmius the tribune. The other *subscriptores* were Sulla’s cousin Caecilius, and his son Sulla.

contra dixit] that is, in the *divinatio* as to who was to conduct the prosecution of Gabinius.

3. *rogandis*] ‘in soliciting the favour of ;’ *rogare* used absolutely in this sense is rare.

locum . . illi] that is, he will certainly be sent into exile, if not on one charge, e. g. *maiestas*, then on another, *ambitus* or *res repetundae*.

4. *summe studiosus*] ‘greatly devoted to.’ We meet *summe studiosum*, Fam. iv. 3, 3.

qua re . . . inducemus] I have punctuated this whole passage according to the text of Wes. The meaning is :—I should not like to interfere with Paeonius’ system of instruction ; the boy himself seems to take to the declamatory, rather than the argumentative, style of rhetoric—indeed this is the school in which I was brought up myself, so we may let him follow in my steps—I am sure he will rise as high as ever I did—yet if I can get him away with me somewhere in the country I will introduce him to my system, which you know is more argumentative than the system of Paeonius. The epithet *θετικώτερον* indicates a style of speaking more adapted for a judge than a jury, more addressed to the reason than the feelings.

qua spe] that is, of promotion from Caesar.

CLII. FROM CICERO TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 4).

ROME, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri de Gabinio absoluto perscribit et qua re eum nec accusarit nec defenderit sed tantum testimonium contra eum dixerit ostendit : addit de versibus Q. fratris et de bibliotheca.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Gabinus absolutus est. Omnino nihil accusatore Lentulo subscriptoribusque eius infantius, nihil illo consilio sordidius. Sed tamen nisi incredibilis contentio, preces Pompeii, dictaturae etiam rumor plenus timoris fuisset, ipsi Lentulo non respondisset, qui tum, illo accusatore illoque consilio, sententiis condemnatus est xxxii, cum lxx tulissent. Est omnino tam gravi fama hoc iudicium, ut videatur reliquis iudiciis periturus et maxime de pecuniis repetundis. Sed vides nullam esse rem publicam, nullum senatum, nulla iudicia, nullam in ullo nostrum dignitatem. Quid plura de iudicibus? Duo praetorii sederunt, Domitius Calvinus, is aperte absolvit, ut omnes viderent, et Cato, is diribitis tabellis de circulo se subduxit et Pompeio primus nuntiavit.

2. Aiunt non nulli, ut Sallustius, me oportuisse accusare. His ego iudicibus committerem? Quid essem, si me agente esset elapsus? Sed me alia moverunt. Non putasset sibi Pompeius de illius salute, sed de sua dignitate mecum esse certamen: in urbem introisset, ad inimicitias res venisset, cum Aesernino Samnite Pacideianus comparatus viderer, auriculam fortasse mordicus

1. *consilio sordidius*] *sordes* and *sordidus* are especially applied to describe the conduct of corrupt juries.

tulissent] *sc.* cum lxx iudices tulissent sententias.

Cato] This is not Cato Uticensis, nor C. Cato, who was tribune in 698.

2. *cum Aesernino*] Cicero says the contest between him and Pompeius would be like that between Pacideianus and Aeserninus. Pacideianus was the prince of gla-

diators; Aeserninus had none of his skill, but was very strong and very determined. In Tusc. iv. 48 Cicero speaks of the ferocious courage of Aeserninus. Cicero means here to say that though the skill would be all on his side, the brute force of Pompeius might inflict on him very serious injuries. We have in Pacideianus another character common to Cicero and Horace. The fight between Aeserninus and Pacideianus is referred to by Lucilius (136 Lach.).

abstulisset, cum Clodio quidem certe redisset in gratiam. Ego vero meum consilium, si praesertim tu non improbas, vehementer approbo. Ille, cum a me singularibus meis studiis ornatus esset, cumque ego illi nihil deberem, ille mihi omnia, tamen in re publica me a se dissentientem non tulit—nihil dicam gravius—et minus potens eo tempore quid in me florentem posset ostendit. Nunc, cum ego ne curem quidem multum posse, res publica certe nihil possit, unus ille omnia possit, cum illo ipso contenderem? Sic enim faciendum fuisset. Non existimo te putare id mihi suscipiendum fuisse. 3. ‘Alterutrum’ inquit idem Sallustius, ‘defendisses idque Pompeio contendenti dedisses: etenim vehementer orabat.’ Lepidum amicum Sallustium, qui mihi aut inimicitias putet periculosas subeundas fuisse aut infamiam sempiternam! Ego vero hac mediocritate delector, ac mihi illud iucundum est, quod, cum testimonium secundum fidem et religionem gravissime dixissem, reus dixit, si in civitate licuisset sibi esse, mihi se satisfacturum, neque me quidquam interrogavit. 4. De versibus, quos tibi a me scribi vis, deest mihi quidem opera, quae non modo tempus, sed etiam animum vacuum ab omni cura desiderat, sed abest etiam ἐνθουσιασμός. Non enim sumus omnino sine cura venientis anni, etsi sumus sine timore. Simul et illud—sine ulla mehercule ironia loquor—tibi istius generis in scribendo priores partes tribuo quam mihi. 5. De bibliotheca tua Graeca supplenda, libris commutandis, Latinis comparandis, valde velim ista confici, praesertim cum ad meum quoque usum spectent. Sed ego mihi ipsi ista per quem agam non habeo: neque enim venalia sunt quae quidem placeant et confici nisi per hominem et peritum et diligentem non possunt. Chrysippo tamen imperabo et cum Ty-

potens] This approaches very near to a participle of *possum*.

3. *alterutrum*] sc. *fecisses*; ‘you should have done one thing or the other; if you refused to prosecute Gabinius you should have defended him.’ See on Ep. xxvii. 3.

mediocritate] ‘this middle course.’ Here, as in Hor. Carm. ii. 10, 5, *mediocritas* means the keeping of a middle course. It never means ‘mediocrity’ in our sense of the word.

satis facturum] ‘that he would repay me’ for my kindness in not acting as prosecutor.

interrogavit] ‘cross-questioned.’ It was

a token of respect not to cross-question a man. Such a course was held to show that a man’s evidence seemed above question.

4. *opera*] ‘leisure,’ ‘spare time,’ often in Pl. But here the context makes this sense impossible. Rather ‘result,’ as in *exstabit opera peregrinationis huius*, Att. xv. 13, 6.

ἐνθουσιασμός] He calls this *animi alacritas* in the next letter to Quintus.

5. *quae quidem placeant*] ‘I mean really desirable purchases.’ The subjunctive is used because *placeant* implies a class—the *generic subjunctive*, as it is called.

rannione loquar. De fisco quid egerit Scipio quaeram. Quod videbitur rectum esse curabo. De Ascanione, tu vero quod voles facies: me nihil interpono. De suburbano, quod non properas, laudo: ut habeas, hortor. 6. Haec scripsi a. d. ix. Kalend. Novembr., quo die ludi committebantur, in Tusculanum proficiscens ducensque mecum Ciceronem meum in ludum [discendi, non lusionis]: ea re non longius cum vellem, quod Pomptino ad triumphum a. d. iiii. Non. Novembr. volebam adesse. Etenim erit nescio quid negotioli. Nam Cato et Servilius praetores prohibituros se minantur, nec quid possint scio. Ille enim et Appium consulem secum habebit et praetores et tribunos pl. Sed minantur tamen, in primisque Ἀρῆ πνέων Q. Scaevola. Cura, mi suavissime et carissime frater, ut valeas.

CLIII. FROM CICERO TO P. LENTULUS

(FAM. I. 9).

ROME, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

Sese excusans demonstrat cur in gratiam cum Caesare, Vatino, Crasso redierit, de scriptis suis, de P. Lentuli rebus domesticis, de Q. fratris negotio, de suo in Lentulum studio, de Appii successione, de publicanis non offendendis.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO IMPERATORI.

1. Periucundae mihi fuerunt litterae tuae, quibus intellexi te perspicere meam in te pietatem: quid enim dicam benevolentiam, cum illud ipsum gravissimum et sanctissimum nomen pietatis levius mihi meritis erga me tuis esse videatur? Quod autem tibi grata mea erga te studia scribis esse, facis tu quidem abundantia quadam

fisco] This is probably the same transaction as is referred to in the next letter to Quintus, Ep. clv. § 6, in the words *de aerario*, &c. But what it was we have no means of conjecturing.

6. *ea re*] 'not wishing to be further away from Rome for this reason,' &c. The reason is then given.

1. *facis ut grata sint ea*] 'you turn into favours, that is, acts *deserving* (productive of) gratitude, things which are bounden duties.' This meaning of *gratus* is common in the comic poets, e.g. *tum cum gratum mihi esse potuit nolui*, Ter. Heaut. ii. 3, 21; *ut grata mihi sint quae facio omnia*, Ter. Eun. iii. 1, 6.

amoris, ut etiam grata sint ea, quae praetermitti sine nefario scelere non possunt. Tibi autem multo notior atque illustrior meus in te animus esset, si hoc tempore omni, quo diiuncti fuimus, et una et Romae fuisset. 2. Nam in eo ipso, quod te ostendis esse facturum quodque et in primis potes et ego a te vehementer exspecto, in sententiis senatoriis et in omni actione atque administratione rei publicae floruissemus:—de qua ostendam equidem paullo post qui sit meus sensus et status et rescribam tibi ad ea, quae quaeris:—sed certe et ego te auctore amicissimo ac sapientissimo et tu me consiliario fortasse non imperitissimo, fideli quidem et benevolo certe usus esses:—quamquam tua quidem causa te esse imperatorem provinciamque bene gestis rebus cum exercitu victore obtinere, ut debeo, laetor:—sed certe qui tibi ex me fructus debentur, eos uberiores et praesentiores praesens capere potuisses. In eis vero ulciscendis, quos tibi partim inimicos esse intellegis propter tuam propugnationem salutis meae, partim invidere propter illius actionis amplitudinem et gloriam, mirificum me tibi comitem prae-buissem: quamquam ille perennis inimicus amicorum suorum, qui tuis maximis beneficiis ornatus in te potissimum fractam illam et

hoc tempore omni] nearly three years. We see from the earlier letters of this book that Lentulus cannot have been present at the debates in the senate in Jan. 698 (56).

2. *actione . . . reip.*] 'political life;' *reip.* is the subjective gen., as in *actio vitae*, 'practical life,' Off. i. 5.

sed certe et ego] *Sed* resumes after the parenthesis *de . . . quaeris*, and again after parenthesis *quamquam . . . laetor*. Cp. Q. Fr. ii. 3, 2.

auctore . . . consiliario] The *auctor* guides the course of the recipient of his advice; the *consiliarius* merely suggests.

imperatorum] Lentulus had received the title *Imperator* for some trifling success against the robber hordes which infested his province. He afterwards obtained the honour of a triumph for the same achievement (Att. v. 21, 4).

actionis] 'the magnificence and brilliancy of that episode,' that is, his restoration, which Lentulus helped to bring about.

ille perennis] This is usually explained as referring to C. Cato, who two years before had proposed that Lentulus should be recalled. Others suppose the consul Appius Claudius Pulcher, the brother of

P. Clodius, to be so described. But the allusion is certainly not to either of these. The person here covertly alluded to seems to me to be no less a person than Pompeius. To this conclusion I am led by the fact—(1) that Cicero complains *passim* of Pompeius' perfidy towards himself; hence *ille perennis inimicus amicorum suorum*; (2) that Lentulus *ornavit* Pompeius, Fam. i. 1, 3; (3) that this interpretation gives a meaning to *libertatem*, which is otherwise inexplicable, as may be seen by referring to Mr. Watson's note. The conduct of Pompeius as regards the commission to restore Ptolemy was shifty and discreditable, and seems to have brought on him much disrepute. Cicero here says, 'now that all his duplicity stands disclosed, he has utterly forfeited not only the dignity, but even the independence of his political attitude.' Cp. Fam. i. 8, 3, *quae enim proposita fuerant . . . dignitas in sententiis dicendis*, *libertas in re publica capessenda*; cp. also below, § 7, *libertate*, and § 20, *cum se maximum fructum cepisse dicerent ex libertate mea*. Accordingly, *libertas* means 'the assumption of a bold (outspoken) demeanour in politics,' and that is what Pompeius has forfeited.

debilitatam vim suam contulit, nostram vicem ultus est ipse sese. Ea est enim conatus, quibus patefactis nullam sibi in posterum non modo dignitatis, sed ne libertatis quidem partem reliquit. 3. Te autem etsi mallet in meis rebus expertum quam etiam in tuis, tamen in molestia gaudeo eam fidem cognosse hominum non ita magna mercede, quam ego maximo dolore cognoram. De qua ratione tota iam videtur mihi exponendi tempus dari, ut tibi rescribam ad ea, quae quaeris. 4. Certiorem te per litteras scribis esse factum me cum Caesare et cum Appio esse in gratia, teque id non reprehendere ascribis. Vatinius autem scire te velle ostendis quibus rebus adductus defenderim et laudarim. Quod tibi ut planius exponam, altius paullo rationem consiliorum meorum repetam necesse est.

Ego me, Lentule, initio, *evento* rerum atque actionum tuarum, non solum meis, sed etiam rei publicae restitutum putabam, et, quoniam tibi incredibilem quemdam amorem et omnia in te ipsum summa ac singularia studia deberem, rei publicae, quae te in me restituendo multum adiuvisset, eum certe me animum merito ipsius debere arbitrabar, quem antea tantum modo communi officio civium, non aliquo erga me singulari beneficio debitum praestitissem. Hac me mente fuisse et senatus ex me te consule audivit et tu in nostris

3. *etiam in tuis*] 'in your case as well' (as in mine).

4. *laudarim*] 'gave testimony to his character.'

evento] I have inserted this word. Cicero here says, that when restored, as the result of the steps taken by Lentulus, at the very beginning of his career (*initio*) as a restored exile, he looked on himself as restored not only to the bosom of his family, but to the service of his country. He came back with his heart full of a new sense of loyalty to the country which had recalled him; and he goes on to tell what discouragements he had to meet. Boot saw (*Obs. Crit.*) that another word on which *rerum atque actionum* should depend must be introduced; for if *rerum atque act.* depended on *initio*, there would be a contradiction. Cicero would then speak of himself as restored at a time when the earliest steps towards his restoration were being taken; the words cannot be translated 'from the very beginning,' as in Mr. Jeans' version. *Initio* is the abl. of time; it means the

same as *primis temporibus illis* in § 5, and we find *initio* in the same sense in *Fam. vi. 6, 4*. Boot suggests *vi* or *cursu* as the words to be introduced, but *evento* is used above, *Att. iii. 8, 4* (*lxiv.*), and may well have been omitted after *initio*, either through its broad resemblance to *initio*, or from a supposed incompatibility between the two words.

aliquo] This, the reading of all the mss., has been changed to *alicui* by Or. and all subsequent editors except Klotz. But *aliquo* is perfectly right, as will be at once seen when the *rationale* of the passage is examined. Cicero says he now owes to the State *merito ipsius* (abl.), 'by reason of its own deserts,' the same feelings which he displayed before as being due, 'by reason of (i. e. in discharge of) the common duty of all citizens, not by reason of (i. e. as a return for) any signal favour towards himself.' *Alicui* actually spoils the sense, and contravenes the tradition of MTH. For the ablative, see note on *beneficio*, § 6.

sermonibus collocutionibusque ipse vidisti. 5. Etsi iam primis temporibus illis multis rebus meus offendebar animus, cum te agente de reliqua nostra dignitate aut occulta non nullorum odia aut obscura in me studia cernebam. Nam neque de monumentis meis ab iis adiutus es, a quibus debuisti, neque de vi nefaria, qua cum fratre eram domo expulsus, neque hercule in iis ipsis rebus, quae quamquam erant mihi propter rei familiaris naufragia necessariae, tamen a me minimi putabantur, in meis damnis ex auctoritate senatus sarcientiis eam voluntatem, quam exspectaram, praestiterunt. Quae cum viderem—neque erant obscura—non tamen tam acerba mihi haec accidebant, quam erant illa grata, quae fecerant. 6. Itaque quamquam et Pompeio plurimum te quidem ipso praedicatore ac teste debebam et eum non solum beneficio, sed amore etiam et perpetuo quodam iudicio meo diligebam, tamen non reputans quid ille vellet in omnibus meis sententiis de re publica pristinis permanebam. 7. Ego sedente Cn. Pompeio, cum, ut laudaret P. Sestium, introisset in urbem dixissetque testis Vatinius me fortuna et felicitate C. Caesaris commotum illi amicum esse coepisse, dixi me eam Bibuli fortunam, quam ille adfectam putaret, omnium triumphis victoriisque anteferre, dixique eodem teste alio loco eosdem esse,

5. *monumentis meis*] This allusion has been much misunderstood. Müller supposes a reference to Q. Fr. i. 1, 26; but this is quite inconsistent with the context, which plainly refers to the period after his restoration. Nor for the same reason can the reference be to the building about which he wrote to his brother Quintus (Q. Fr. ii. 7 (9) 2). It seems all but certain that the *monumentis meis* here spoken of are the same as the *meum monumentum* of § 15. Now this cannot have been the colonnade of Catulus, for the statue of Liberty which Clodius erected on its site was demolished by order of the senate; but we read (§ 15) that the monument thus spoken of was allowed to bear in an inscription the bloody letters of Clodius' hostile name. We must therefore suppose, as Lange does (Röm. Alt. 3, 325), that the words refer to a building erected by Cicero in his consulship by order of the senate, to commemorate the suppression of the Cat. conspiracy: the original inscription must have been effaced by Clodius, and another bearing his own name substituted, which latter seems strangely to have been allowed to remain, § 15.

haec] 'their present unsympathetic conduct.'

illa quae fecerant] 'their past services' (in bringing about my restoration).

6. *beneficio*] the *ablativus causae*, very common in Cicero when the cause is an attribute or quality in the subject, as *cum alii me suspicionem sui periculi non defendere*, Sest. 20; *videmus alios oratores inertia nihil scripsisse*, Brut. 24; but not so common when the cause lies outside the subject, as here; for the latter, Draeger (Hist. Syn. I², § 228, 2, p. 545) says he can cite only two examples from Cicero: *regale civitatis genus non regni quam regis vitiis repudiatum est*, Legg. iii. 15; *significaverunt se beneficio novo memoriam veteris doloris abiecis*, Phil. i. 30. The present is, perhaps, a better example than either. *Amore* and *iudicio* are causal ablatives of the common kind.

sententiis pristinis] the optimate policy.

7. *sedente*] present in court, ready to give testimony to the character (*laudare*) of Sestius.

loco] 'another part of the same speech.'

qui Bibulum exire domo prohibuissent et qui me coëgissent: tota vero interrogatio mea nihil habuit nisi reprehensionem illius tribunatus: in quo omnia dicta sunt libertate animoque maximo de vi, de auspiciis, de donatione regnorum. 8. Neque vero hac in causa modo, sed constanter saepe in senatu. Quin etiam Marcellino et Philippo consulibus Nonis Aprilibus mihi est senatus adsensus, ut de agro Campano frequenti senatu Idibus Maiis referretur. Num potui magis in arcem illius causae invadere aut magis oblivisci temporum meorum, meminisse actionum? Hac a me sententia dicta magnus animorum motus est factus cum eorum, quorum oportuit, tum illorum etiam, quorum nunquam putaram. 9. Nam hoc senatus consulto in meam sententiam facto Pompeius, cum mihi nihil ostendisset se esse offensum, in Sardiniam et in Africam profectus est eoque itinere Lucam ad Caesarem venit. Ibi multa de mea sententia questus est Caesar, quippe qui etiam Ravennae Crassum ante vidisset ab eoque in me esset incensus. Sane moleste Pompeium id ferre constabat, quod ego cum audissem ex aliis, maxime ex meo fratre cognovi. Quem cum in Sardinia Pompeius paucis post diebus, quam Luca dicessero, convenisset: 'Te, inquit, ipsum cupio: nihil opportunius potuit accidere: nisi cum Marco fratre diligenter egeris, dependendum tibi est, quod mihi pro illo spopondisti.' Quid multa? questus est graviter: sua merita commemoravit: quid egisset saepissime de actis Caesaris cum ipso meo fratre quidque sibi is de me receperisset in memoriam redegit, seque, quae de mea salute egisset, voluntate Caesaris egisse ipsum meum fratrem testatus est: cuius causam dignitatemque mihi ut commendaret, rogavit ut eam ne oppugnarem, si nollem aut non possem tueri. 10. Haec cum ad me

interrogatio] in Vatinius.

tribunatus] of Vatinius, 695 (b.c. 59).
in quo] = *in qua re*, i.e. *reprehensione*;
 cp. *hoc* = *hac re*, Att. iv. 17, 3 (Ep. cliv.);
 Ep. xii. 7; and § 16 below.

donatione regnorum] See Vat. 29; see also Ep. xxxvi. 1, where Pompeius seems to be charged with the same misdemeanours. Here Vat. seems to be accused of high-handed acts committed no doubt under Caesar's protection. *De vi* refers especially to the expulsion of Bibulus from the *forum*; *auspiciis* to the fact that Caesar's laws were passed in defiance of the auspices.

8. *illius causae*] the triumvir's policy: *temporum* means 'the requirements of my own position'; *actionum* 'my past career.'

eorum . . . illorum] It seems to me that *eorum* certainly refers to the triumvirs, and *illorum* to the leaders of the *optimates*, to whom he refers as *certainorum hominum* in § 13.

9. *te ipsum cupio*] like *te ipsum quarebam*, a formula for a welcome greeting.

dependendum] metaphorical, 'you went bail for his fidelity to us; you will have to pay up for him unless you talk him over.'

frater pertulisset et cum tamen Pompeius ad me cum mandatis Vibullium misisset, ut integrum mihi de causa Campana ad suum Commitment
reditum reservarem, collegi ipse me et cum ipsa quasi re publica
collocutus sum, ut mihi tam multa pro se perperasso atque perfuncto
concederet, ut officium meum memoremque in bene meritos ani-
mum fidemque fratris mei praestarem, eumque, quem bonum civem
semper habuisset, bonum virum esse pateretur. In illis autem meis
actionibus sentiis et omnibus, quae Pompeium videbantur of-
fendere, certorum hominum, quos iam debes suspicari, sermones
referebantur ad me: qui cum illa sentirent in re publica, quae
ego agebam, semperque sensissent, me tamen non satis facere
Pompeio Caesaremque inimicissimum mihi futurum gaudere se
aiebant. Erat hoc mihi dolendum: sed multo illud magis, quod
inimicum meum—meum autem? immo vero legum, iudiciorum,
otii, patriae, bonorum omnium—sic amplexabantur, sic in manibus
habebant, sic fovebant, sic me praesente osculabantur, non illi
quidem ut mihi stomachum facerent, quem ego funditus perdidici,
sed certe ut facere se arbitrarentur. Hic ego, quantum humano
consilio efficere potui, circumspectis rebus meis omnibus rationi- balanced
busque subductis summam feci cogitationum mearum omnium,
quam tibi si potero, breviter exponam. 11. Ego si ab improbis
et perditis civibus rem publicam teneri viderem, sicut et Cinneis

10. *tamen*] Madv. would read *etiam*, but *tamen* is quite right, 'nevertheless' (as if one messenger was not enough).

integrum] (the right of) 'free action; ' *integrum me . . . servarem* would have been a far more natural construction. But Cicero uses the singular neuter of even abstract adjectives as substantives, chiefly to express ethical conceptions, as *honestum*, *beatum* = *beatitudo* (Fin. v. 84); but sometimes also in other cases, as *dilectum*, *breve probabile illustre suave*, Or. part. 19; generally with a pronoun, as *nostrum illud solenne*, Att. vii. 6, 1; *canorum illud in voce*, De Sen. 28 (Draeg. Hist. Syn. I², p. 53).

praestarem] used somewhat zeugmatically 'to discharge my duty, show my gratitude, and redeem my brother's pledge for me.'

bonum virum] Cicero begs the State, whom he personifies, to let one whom she had always regarded as an honest citizen now show himself an honest man (by ful-

filling his brother's pledge that he would support the triumvirs). That is, he says to the State, 'I have always been true to you as a member of the community, now let me be true to my duty as a man.' For *bonus* 'honest,' cp. *iustitia ex qua viri boni nominantur*, Off. i. 21; *cum is spon-sionem fecisset ni vir bonus esset*, ib. iii. 77. In Opt. Gen. 20 we find *nec vir bonus nec bene meritis de civitate*.

certorum hominum] 'men that I wot of;' see on Fam. vii. 1, 1 (Ep. cxxvii.).

facere . . . se aieb.] sc. *stomachum*. Cicero, like Hamlet, says he lacks gall to make oppression bitter; but the conduct of his former friends toward Clodius was evidently dictated by a desire to rouse the indignation of Cicero. Cp. *facere dolorem*, Att. xi. 8, 2; *disunctionem*, De Am. 76.

circumspectis . . . omnium] 'I made a careful review of my whole position, and on balancing the items arrived at the following sum total,' Jeans.

11. *Cinneis temporibus*] This is the

temporibus scimus et non nullis aliis accidisse, non modo praemiis, quae apud me minimum valent, sed ne periculis quidem compulsus ullis, quibus tamen moventur etiam fortissimi viri, ad eorum causam me adiungerem, ne si summa quidem eorum in me merita constarent. Cum autem in re publica Cn. Pompeius princeps esset vir, is qui hanc potentiam et gloriam maximis in rem publicam meritis praestantissimisque rebus gestis esset consecutus cuiusque ego dignitatis ab adolescentia fautor, in praetura autem et in consulatu audiutor etiam exstitissem, cumque idem auctoritate et sententia per se, consiliis et studiis tecum, me adiuvisset meumque inimicum unum in civitate haberet inimicum, non putavi famam inconstantiae mihi pertimescendam, si quibusdam in sententiis paullum me immutassem meamque voluntatem ad summi viri de meque optime meriti dignitatem adgregassem. 12. In hac sententia complectendus erat mihi Caesar, ut vides, in coniuncta et causa et dignitate. Hic multum valuit cum vetus amicitia, quam tu non ignoras mihi et Quinto fratri cum Caesare fuisse, tum humanitas eius ac liberalitas brevi tempore et litteris et officiis

reading of H, discovered independently by L. C. Purser and Oscar Streicher. *Meis*, the reading of M, which has been universally accepted hitherto, is really without meaning. It cannot mean within my own memory, for then Cicero must have written *nonnullorum aliorum*, instead of *nonnullis aliis*. It cannot refer to his consulate, for Catiline could not at any time have been said *tenere remp.* Now *Cinneis temporibus*, 'in the time of Cinna,' gives a perfect sense, as is at once apparent. But it will be said *Cinnanus* is the proper adj. from Cinna. It is true that *Cinnanus* is the form used by Velleius Paterculus, ii. 24, 4, Valerius Maximus, iv. 7, 5; v. 3, 3; Suetonius, Calig. 60, and even Nepos Vita Attici, 2. But Streicher has shown that the form *Cinneus* occurs frequently in ancient inscriptions (*Comment. Philol. Te-nenses*, vol. iii. p. 141). We may accordingly, assume that though in later times the form *Cinnanus* alone was used, in earlier times *Cinnanus* and *Cinneus* existed as alternative formations from the proper name *Cinna*. H is destined to throw a flood of light on the *Epp. ad Fam.*

compulsus] 'under the pressure of ambition or fear;' *compulsus* should not be rendered 'compelled;' it is never so colourless a word as 'compelled;' but

always contains, or at least suggests, a metaphor.

constarent] This use of *constare* as a stronger form of *esse*, implying existence as strongly opposed to non-existence, is very rare, except in Cicero and Lucretius: cp. *si ipsa mens constare potest vacans corpore*, N. D. i. 25.

princeps esset vir, is qui] The usual punctuation is *princeps esset, vir is qui*; but Wes. rightly observes 'Latini non dicunt *is vir qui* nedum *vir is qui*.' On the other hand, with the punctuation which I have given, *princeps vir* is unusual; but we have *principibus viris* in Hor. Ep. i. 17, 35, and *principes feminae* in Plin. viii. 32, 50, § 119.

praetura...consulatu] In his praetorship Cicero had supported the Manilian law, and in his consulship he had proposed a *supplicatio* in honour of Pompeius' successes against Mithridates.

exstitissem] 'stood forward as.' In good Latin *existere* always means 'to come into existence,' not 'to be in existence,' like our word exist.—Reid, Acad. i. 23.

adgregassem] 'had contributed my zeal, too, to the furtherance of his dignity.' The word is stronger than *adiungere*.

12. *brevi tempore*] 'within a short time;' cp. Rosc. Am. 74, *Romam multis*

perspecta nobis et cognita. Vehementer etiam res ipsa publica me movit, quae mihi videbatur contentionem, praesertim maximis rebus a Caesare gestis, cum illis viris nolle fieri et ne fieret vehementer recusare. Gravissime autem me in hac mente impulit et Pompeii fides, quam de me Caesari dederat, et fratris mei quam Pompeio. Erant praeterea haec animadvertenda in civitate, quae sunt apud Platonem nostrum scripta divinitus: 'quales in re publica principes essent, tales reliquos solere esse cives.' Tenebam memoria nobis consulibus ea fundamenta iacta iam ex Kalendis Ianuariis confirmandi senatus, ut neminem mirari oporteret Nonis Decembribus tantum vel animi fuisse in illo ordine vel auctoritatis. Idemque memineram nobis privatis usque ad Caesarem et Bibulum consules, cum sententiae nostrae magnum in senatu pondus haberent, unum fere sensum fuisse bonorum omnium. 13. Postea, cum tu Hispaniam citeriorem cum imperio obtineres neque res publica consules haberet, sed mercatores provinciarum et seditionum servos ac ministros, iecit quidam casus caput meum quasi certaminis causa in mediam contentionem dissensionemque civilem. Quo in discrimine cum mirificus senatus, incredibilis Italiae totius, singularis omnium bonorum consensus in me tuendo extitisset, non dicam quid acciderit—multorum est enim et varia culpa—tantum dicam brevi, non mihi exercitum, sed duces defuisse. In quo, ut iam sit in iis culpa, qui me non defenderunt, non minor est in iis, qui reliquerunt: et, si accusandi sunt, si qui pertimuerunt, magis etiam reprehendendi, si qui se timere simularunt. Illud quidem certe nostrum consilium iure laudandum est, qui meos cives et a me conservatos et me servare cupientes, spoliatos ducibus servis

annis non venit; more usual with *in*, or the addition of the pronouns *hic, ille*, as *his annis quadringentis*, 'within the last 100 years,' De Rep. i. 58.

in hac mente] This is the reading of HTM, which Streicher (*Comment. Philol. Iencenses*, vol. iii., p. 105) justly defends against *in hanc mentem*, the correction of M². *In hac mente* is certainly the more difficult reading to explain, and therefore the more likely to be right. *Impulit* caused the change of the ablative to the accusative. But this use of the ablative is common enough: *in hac mente* = 'when I was in this state of mind;' cp. Fam. iii. 11, 4; Cluent. 25.

tales] The passage to which Cicero is supposed to refer is Plat. Legg. 4, 711 B: μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς πειθέτω, ὦ φίλοι, ἄλλη θάπτον καὶ ῥᾶον μεταβάλλειν ἂν ποτε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἢ τῇ τῶν δυναστευόντων ἡγεμονίᾳ.

13. *obtineres*] as pro praetor, 695 (59). *prov. mercatores*] 'province-mongers,' Jeans.

caput meum] There does not seem to be any allusion to *caput* = 'civil life' here; *caput meum* is merely 'myself' with a certain suggestion of pity, 'my unhappy self,' as Mr. Jeans well renders it.

senatus] is, of course, the genitive.

si qui] *οἵτινες*.

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armatis obiici noluerim declararique maluerim quanta vis esse potuisset in consensu bonorum, si iis pro me stante pugnare licuisset, cum afflictum excitare potuissent. Quorum quidem animum tu non perspexisti solum, cum de me ageres, sed etiam confirmasti atque tenuisti. 14. Qua in causa—non modo non negabo, sed etiam semper et meminero et praedicabo libenter—usus es quibusdam nobilissimis hominibus fortioribus in me restituendo, quam fuerant iidem in tenendo: qua in sententia si constare voluissent, suam auctoritatem simul cum salute mea recuperassent. Recreatis enim bonis viris consulatu tuo et constantissimis atque optimis actionibus tuis excitatis, Cn. Pompeio praesertim ad causam adiuncto, cum etiam Caesar rebus maximis gestis, singularibus ornatus et novis honoribus ac iudiciis senatus ad auctoritatem eius ordinis adiungeretur, nulli improbo civi locus ad rem publicam violandam esse potuisset. 15. Sed attende, quaeso, quae sint consecuta. Primum ille fur muliebrum religionum, qui non pluris fecerat Bonam deam quam tres sorores, impunitatem est illorum sententiis adsecutus, qui cum tribunus pl. poenas a seditioso civi per bonos viros iudicio persequi vellet, exemplum praeclarissimum in posterum vindicandae seditionis de re publica sustulerunt: iidemque postea non meum monumentum—non enim illae manubiae meae, sed operis locatio mea fuerat—monumentum vero senatus hostili nomine et cruentis inustum litteris esse passi sunt. Qui me homines quod salvum esse voluerunt, est mihi gratissimum: sed vellem non solum salutis meae, quem ad modum medici, sed, ut aliptae, etiam virium et coloris rationem habere voluissent: nunc, ut Apelles Veneris caput et summa pectoris politissima arte perfecit, reliquam partem corporis inchoatam reliquit, sic quidam homines in capite meo solum elaborarunt, reliquum corpus imper-

15. *ille fur*] This is the conjecture of Lamb. for *furta*. Vict. conjectured *furia*, which is nearer to the ms; but I own I do not understand *furia* with the genitive. I do not see how *furia* can mean 'mad assailing of;' besides, Clodius did not assail the rites of the Bona Dea, but only intruded on them. The conjecture of Lambinus would give a good enough sense; Clodius might be called *fur mul. rel.* in the same sense in which Verres is called *sacerorum omnium et religionum hostis praedoque*, 2 Verr. iv. 80. Clodius was a thief

of (the knowledge of) the sacred rites of the Bona Dea. But I cannot understand how *ille fur* could have been corrupted into *illa furta* of the ms. Perhaps Cicero wrote *illa furia*, *fur muliebrum religionum*.

tribunis] Milo, or possibly Racilius.

manubiae] See above on *de monumentis meis*, § 5. He contrasts his building with the colonnade of Catulus, which was erected on the money produced by the sale of the spoils of the Cimbric war.

fectum ac rude reliquerunt. / 16. In quo ego spem fefelli non modo invidorum, sed etiam inimicorum meorum, qui de uno acerrimo et fortissimo viro meoque iudicio omnium magnitudine animi et constantia praestantissimo, Q. Metello L. F., quondam falsam opinionem acceperunt, quem post reditum dictitant fracto animo et demisso fuisse—(est vero probandum, qui et summa voluntate cesserit et egregia animi alacritate afuerit neque sane redire curarit, eum ob id ipsum *factum* fractum fuisse, in quo cum omnes homines tum M. illum Scaurum singularem virum constantia et gravitate superasset!)—Sed, quod de illo acceperant aut etiam suspicabantur, de me idem cogitabant, abiectiore animo me futurum, cum res publica maiorem etiam mihi animum, quam umquam habuissem, daret, quae declarasset se non potuisse me uno civi carere, cumque Metellum unius tribuni plebis rogatio, me universa res publica duce senatu, comitante Italia, promulgantibus octo tribunis pl., referente consule, comitiis centuriatis, cunctis ordinibus, hominibus incumbantibus, omnibus denique suis viribus recuperavisset. 17. Neque vero ego mihi postea quidquam adsumpsi neque hodie adsumo quod quemquam malevolentissimum iure possit offendere: tantum enitor, ut neque amicis neque etiam alienoribus opera, consilio, labore desim. Hic meae vitae cursus offendit eos fortasse, qui splendorem et speciem huius vitae intuentur, sollicitudinem

16. *In quo*] = *in qua re*. This usage is very common in Cicero, even after a feminine substantive; e.g. *promulgationem . . . in quo*, Att. iii. 23, 1. A list of examples is given by Reid on Acad. i. 32. In the example quoted the relative could not have been made to agree with *promulgationem* except by omitting *cum hac lege* which follows. In the sentence which precedes I do not see any play on the word *caput* whereby it should be made to mean 'rights of citizenship' as well as 'head.'

Q. Metello] Cicero has already instituted a comparison between this Metellus and himself, Ep. xxii. § 4, where see the note. The meaning of the passage is:—Just as the public thought that Metellus' spirit was broken by his exile—in which opinion they were quite wrong—so they fancied that my spirit would be broken after my exile; but in this surmise they were still more mistaken, inasmuch as the circumstances of my return had given me more courage than ever.

factum] I have inserted this word. Some such word seems to be required, and *factum* would have fallen out very easily before *fractum*. If anyone thinks that Cicero would have avoided the jingle in *factum fractum*, let him consult Mr. Reid's note on *quam quibusnam quisquam*, Acad. i. 6.

M. Scaurum] Why Metellus should be said to surpass Scaurus it is hard to say, unless, perhaps, Scaurus did take the oath for refusing which Cicero praises Metellus so much, Sest. 37, 101. Scaurus was, of course, *princeps senatus* for a long time, and eminent for *gravitas*.

sed] resumptive after a parenthesis.

quae declarasset] *quae* not *cum* is certainly the right reading here, the clause *quae . . . carere* not being co-ordinate with the other clauses introduced by *cum*.

unius tribuni] Q. Calidius, Planc. 69.

17. *hic . . . cursus*] His choice of a forensic life.

autem et laborem perspicere non possunt. Illud vero non obscure queruntur, in meis sententiis, quibus ornem Caesarem, quasi desciscere me a pristina causa. Ego autem cum illa sequor, quae paullo ante proposui, tum hoc non in postremis, de quo coeperam exponere. Non offendes eundem bonorum sensum, Lentule, quem reliquisti: qui confirmatus consulatu nostro, non numquam postea interruptus, afflictus ante te consulem, recreatus abs te, totus est nunc ab iis, a quibus tuendus fuerat, derelictus, idque non solum fronte atque vultu, quibus simulatio facillime sustinetur, declarant ei, qui tum nostro illo statu optimates nominabantur, sed etiam sensu saepe iam tabellaeque docuerunt. 18. Itaque tota iam sapientium civium, qualem me et esse et numerari volo, et sententia et voluntas mutata esse debet. Id enim iubet idem ille Plato, quem ego vehementer auctorem sequor: 'tantum contendere in re publica, quantum probare tuis civibus possis: vim neque parenti nec patriae adferre oportere.' Atque hanc quidem ille causam sibi ait non attingendae rei publicae fuisse, quod, cum offendisset populum Atheniensem prope iam desipientem senectute cumque eum nec

illud] introduces a new subject of complaint = 'the following:' rather confusingly, in the next sentence *illa* refers to the subjects already treated, while *hoc* is 'the following.'

non numquam] 692-694 (62-60).

ante te consulem] 695, 696 (59, 58).

sensu] This word, which is found in all the mss, was changed by Man. to *sententia*; and the conjecture of Man. has been accepted by every editor to Klotz. Yet Cicero would certainly have said *sententiis tabellis*que if he had meant 'their votes in the senate and as jurymen.' Moreover, *sensu* gives an excellent sense. The expression *fronte ac vultu* refers to the feeling which they professed; the expression *sensu tabellae*que signifies the feelings which they really entertained and showed by their votes. The fact that the sentence is so expressed that if we examine closely we find Cicero to have really said that *sensus* is expressed by *sensus* will not create a difficulty for anyone familiar with the letters, or indeed the Latin writers in general; *sensus* first means broadly the 'mental attitude' of the *boni*; when used afterwards it means 'the real feelings' as opposed to 'the professed feelings'; so there is no real tautology; *sensu tabellae*que means 'the real inward feeling

with the outward expression of it in their verdicts.' *Sensus* (plural) in *rep.* is, as Mr. Reid says (Sulla, 64), the proper expression for 'political sympathy;' cp. Fam. xii. 15, 2; Marcell. 16; Phil. x. 4; Att. xv. 7 (where *placebant* should be read).

18. *sententia et voluntas*] This expresses in reverse order nearly the same thought as *sensu tabellae*que; *voluntas* = *sensus*, 'the real feelings'; *sententia* = 'the outward expression of them in the senate,' while *tabella* referred to 'the outward expression of them on the bench of jurors.'

Plato] Crit. ch. xii. *Tantum . . . possis* is rather an inference from Plato's words than a translation; *vim . . . oportere* is a translation of βιάζεσθαι δ' οὐκ ὅσιον οὔτε μητέρα οὔτε πατέρα, πολὺ δὲ τούτων ἐτι ἥττον τὴν πατρίδα.

offendisset] Here he refers to two passages in the 5th letter of Plato, of the genuineness of which Cicero seems to have no doubt—Πλάτων ὁψὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι γέγονεν καὶ τὸν δῆμον κατέλαβεν ἤδη πρεσβύτερον; and again, ἐπεὶ πάντων ἂν ἡδιστα καθάπερ πατρὶ συνεβούλευεν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ μάχην μὲν κινδυνεύσειν ᾤετο, πλεόν δ' οὐδὲν ποιήσειν.

cumque eum] The logic of the sentence

persuadendo nec *nisi* cogendo regi posse vidisset, cum persuaderi posse diffideret, cogi fas esse non arbitraretur. Mea ratio fuit alia, quod neque desipiente populo nec integra re mihi ad consulendum capesseremne rem publicam implicatus tenebar. Sed laetatus tamen sum, quod mihi liceret in eadem causa et mihi utilia et cuius bono recta defendere. Huc accessit commemoranda quaedam et divina Caesaris in me fratremque meum liberalitas: qui mihi quascumque res iniret tuendus esset: nunc in tanta felicitate tantisque victoriis, etiam si in nos non is esset, qui est, tamen ornandus videretur. Sic enim te existimare velim, cum a vobis meae salutis auctoribus dis-cesserim, neminem esse cuius officiis me tam esse devinctum non solum confitear, sed etiam gaudeam. 19. Quod quoniam tibi exposui, facilia sunt ea, quae a me de Vatinio et de Crasso requiris. Nam de Appio quod scribis, sicuti de Caesare, te non reprehendere, gaudeo tibi consilium probari meum. De Vatinio autem, primum reditus intercesserat in gratiam per Pompeium, statim ut ille praetor est factus, cum quidem ego eius petitionem gravissimis in senatu sententiis oppugnassem, neque tam illius laedendi causa quam defendendi atque ornandi Catonis. Post autem Caesaris, ut illum defenderem, mira contentio est consecuta. Cur autem laudarim, peto a te, ut id a me neve in hoc reo neve in aliis requiras, ne tibi ego idem reponam, cum veneris: tametsi possum vel absenti: recordare enim quibus laudationem ex ultimis terris miseris. Nec hoc pertimueris: nam a me ipso laudantur et laudabuntur iidem. Sed tamen defendendi Vatinii fuit etiam ille stimulus, de quo in

is utterly defective, unless we insert *nisi* with Mr. Purser. Most edd. regard *cumque . . . vidisset* as spurious, but they are found in all the mss. See Adn. Crit.

in eadem causa). In his speech on one and the same question (*i.e.* the speech *De prov.*, in which he argued that Caesar's command should be continued) he was able to take a line which combined his own interests (Caesar's favour) with the espousal of a measure which must commend itself to every one of the *boni*, or conservatives of his party. However, I am not at all sure that we should not for *civis* read *civibus* with H (to which *civium* the reading of T, seems also to point). The continuance of Caesar's command would more naturally be said by Caesar to be good for his fellow-citizens at large than for the ideal optimate.

iniret] See Adn. Crit. *Inire consilium, rationem, ingredi in rem* are common expressions in Cicero.

eum . . . discesserim] the regular phrase in Cicero for 'except,' 'after,' 'next to,' in comparisons.

19. *Appio*] Pompeius' son had married a daughter of Appius. It was through the intervention of Pompeius that a reconciliation was effected between Appius and Cicero, who naturally resented the way in which Appius had abetted the schemes of his brother, P. Clodius, against him.

laudarium] gave evidence of good character.

sed tamen] Cicero says he had another reason for befriending Vatinius; his former friends among the *optimates* often annoyed him by showing special marks of friendliness to his persecutor, P. Clodius.

iudicio, cum illum defenderem, dixi me facere quiddam, quod in Eunucho parasitus suaderet militi :

Ubi nominabit Phaedriam, tu Pamphilam continuo. Si quando illa dicet : 'Phaedriam intromittamus comissatum,' 'Pamphilam cantatum provocemus : ' si laudabit haec illius formam, tu huius contra. Denique par pro pari referto, quod eam mordeat.

Sic petivi a iudicibus, ut, quoniam quidem nobiles homines et de me optime meriti nimis amarent inimicum meum meque inspec- tante saepe eum in senatu modo severe seducerent, modo familia- riter atque hilare amplexarentur, quoniamque illi haberent suum Publium, darent mihi ipsi alium Publium, in quo possem illorum animos mediocriter lacesitus leviter repungere. Neque solum dixi, sed etiam saepe facio, deis hominibusque approbantibus. 20. Habes de Vatinius, cognosce de Crasso. Ego, cum mihi cum illo magna iam gratia esset, quod eius omnes gravissimas iniurias communis concordiae causa voluntaria quadam oblivione contrive- ram, repentinam eius defensionem Gabinii, quem proximis superi- oribus diebus acerrime oppugnasset, tamen, si sine ulla mea contumelia suscepisset, tulissem : sed cum me disputantem, non lacescentem laesisset, exarsi non solum praesenti, credo, iracundia —nam ea tam vehemens fortasse non fuisset—, sed cum inclusum illud odium multarum eius in me iniuriarum, quod ego effudisse me omne arbitrabar, residuum tamen insciente me fuisset, omne repente apparuit. Quo quidem tempore ipso quidam homines et iidem illi, quos saepe *nutu* significationeque appello, cum se maxi-

Cicero says he will give them a little prod (*leviter repungere*) for the slight mortifica- tion they cause him (*mediocriter lacesitus*) by showing friendliness on his part to Vatinius, the creature of Caesar, and thus play his Publius (Vatinius) off against their Publius (Clodius), just as the parasite Gnatho in Terence's *Eunuchus* advises the soldier Thraso to play off Pamphila against Phaedria, that is, to rouse his mistress's jealousy by an allusion to Pamphila when- ever she annoys him by a reference to his rival Phaedria, Eun. 3. 1. 50.

severe seducerent] 'took aside for serious consultation.'

suum Publium] It will be seen, from the explanation given above, that this passage cannot be quoted to show that the use of the *praenomen* was a mark of inti- macy. It was the *omission* of the *praeno- men* that was the mark of intimacy. See vol. I². p. 49.

20. *defensionem Gabinii*] when accused of misgovernment, 698 (56), on his return from Syria.

num fructum cepisse dicerent ex libertate mea meque tum denique sibi esse visum rei publicae, qualis fuisset, restitutum, cumque ea contentio mihi magnum etiam foris fructum tulisset, gaudere se dicebant mihi et illum inimicum et eos, qui in eadem causa essent, numquam amicos futuros. Quorum iniqui sermones cum ad me per homines honestissimos perferrentur cumque Pompeius ita contedisset, ut nihil umquam magis, ut cum Crasso redirem in gratiam, Caesarque per litteras maxima se molestia ex illa contentione adfectum ostenderet, habui non temporum solum rationem meorum, sed etiam naturae. Crassusque, ut quasi testata populo Romano esset nostra gratia, paene a meis laribus in provinciam est profectus. Nam cum mihi condixisset, cenavit apud me in mei generi Crassipedis hortis. Quam ob rem eius causam, quod te scribis audisse, magna illius commendatione susceptam defendi in senatu, sicut mea fides postulabat. 21. Accepisti quibus rebus adductus quamque rem causamque defenderim, quique meus in re publica sit pro mea parte capessenda status. De quo sic velim statuas, me haec eadem sensurum fuisse, si mihi integra omnia ac libera fuissent. Nam neque pugnandum arbitrarer contra tantas opes neque delendum, etiam si id fieri posset, summorum civium principatum, nec permanendum in una sententia conversis rebus ac bonorum voluntatibus mutatis, sed temporibus adsentiendum. Numquam enim praestantibus in re publica gubernanda viris laudata est in una sententia perpetua permansio, sed, ut in navigando tempestati obsequi artis est, etiam si portum tenere non queas, cum vero id possis mutata velificatione adsequi, stultum est eum tenere cum periculo cursum, quem ceperis, potius quam eo commutato quo velis tamen pervenire, sic cum omnibus nobis in administranda re publica propositum esse debeat id, quod a me saepissime dictum est, cum dignitate otium, non idem semper dicere, sed idem semper

libertate mea] 'my outspokenness,' 'independence.'

ea contentio] with Crassus.

foris] outside the senate, with the people.

illum] Crassus; *eos*, Caesar and Pompeius; this course of Cicero's they thought would establish a feud between him and Crassus, and would prevent a *rapprochement* on his part towards Caesar and Pompeius.

temporum] 'circumstances.'

condixisset] 'had offered to come and dine with me.' In Rome it was a compliment to ask oneself to dinner. To ask a favour is still an act requiring a closer friendship than to confer one.

illius com.] 'on the strong recommendation of Pompeius.'

21. *ut in navigando*] There is the same illustration in Planc. 94.

tamen] 'for all that' (though on another tack).

spectare debemus. Quam ob rem, ut paullo ante posui, si essent omnia mihi solutissima, tamen in re publica non alius essem atque nunc sum. Cum vero in hunc sensum et adliciar beneficiis hominum et compellar iniuriis, facile patior ea me de re publica sentire ac dicere, quae maxime cum meis tum etiam rei publicae rationibus putem conducere. Apertius autem haec ago ac saepius, quod et Quintus frater meus legatus est Caesaris et nullum meum minimum dictum, non modo factum, pro Caesare intercessit quod ille non ita illustri gratia acceperit, ut ego eum mihi devinctum putarem. Itaque eius omni et gratia, quae summa est, et opibus, quas intellegis esse maximas, sic fruor ut meis. Nec mihi aliter potuisse videor hominum perditorum de me consilia frangere, nisi cum praesidiis iis, quae semper habui, nunc etiam potentium benevolentiam coniunxissem. 22. His ego consiliis, si te praesentem habuissem, ut opinio mea fert, essem usus eisdem. Novi enim temperantiam et moderationem naturae tuae: novi animum cum mihi amicissimum tum nulla in ceteros malevolentia suffusum contraque cum magnum et excelsum tum etiam apertum et simplicem. Vidi ego quosdam in te tales, quales tu eosdem in me videre potuisti. Quae me moverunt, movissent eadem te profecto. Sed quocumque tempore mihi potestas praesentis tui fuerit, tu eris omnium moderator consiliorum meorum: tibi erit eidem, cui salus mea fuit, etiam dignitas curae. Me quidem certe tuarum actionum, sententiarum, voluntatum, rerum denique omnium socium comitemque habebis, neque mihi in omni vita res tam erit ulla proposita quam ut cotidie vehementius te de me optime meritum esse laetere.

23. Quod rogas, ut mea tibi scripta mittam, quae post discesum tuum scripserim, sunt orationes quaedam, quas Menocrito dabo, neque ita multae, ne pertimescas. Scripsi etiam—nam me

solutissima] 'though I were quite untrammelled.'

praesidiis] the sympathy of the middle classes in Rome and throughout Italy, and of certain of the nobles in Rome.

22. *His . . . consiliis*] a fortuitous hexameter.

suffusum] 'with no pale cast of spite.'

socium comitemque] There does not seem to be any difference in meaning, unless *comes* rather means 'one of your retinue,' and thus politely concedes the

superior position to Lentulus. *Socium* is found much more frequently coupled with *particeps, adiutor, consors*.

vehementius] 'more strongly than before.' Cp. Ep. xii. 42. See note on Ep. xxvi. 7.

23. *orationes*] those of 698 (56), *pro Sestio, Caelio, Balbo, De Har. resp., De prov. cons.*, &c.; of 699 (55), *in Pisonem, pro Gallo*; of 700 (54), *pro Crasso, pro Plancio*.

ne pertimescas] This is not imper., which would be *ne pertimueris*; it is dependent on

iam ab orationibus diiungo fere referoque ad mansuetiores Musas, quae me *nunc* maxime, sicut iam a prima adolescentia delectarunt—scripsi igitur Aristotelio more, quem ad modum quidem volui, tris libros disputatione ac dialogo de oratore, quos arbitror Lentulo tuo fore non inutiles. Abhorrent enim a communibus praeceptis atque omnem antiquorum et Aristoteliam et Isocratiam rationem oratoriam complectuntur. Scripsi etiam versibus tris libros de temporibus meis, quos iam pridem ad te misissem, si esse edendos putassem—sunt enim testes et erunt sempiterni meritorum erga me tuorum meaeque pietatis—, sed quia verebar non eos, qui se laesos arbitrarentur—etenim id feci parce et molliter—sed eos, quos erat infinitum bene de me meritos omnes nominare. Quos tamen ipsos libros, si quem cui recte committam invenero, curabo ad te perferendos. Atque istam quidem partem vitae consuetudinisque nostrae totam ad te defero. Quantum litteris, quantum studiis, veteribus nostris delectationibus, consequi poterimus, id omne ad arbitrium tuum, qui haec semper amasti, libentissime conferemus. 24. Quae ad me de tuis rebus domesticis scribis quaeque mihi commendas, ea tantae mihi curae sunt, ut me nolim admoneri, rogari vero sine magno dolore vix possim. Quod de Quinti fratris negotio scribis te priore aetate, quod morbo impeditus in Ciliciam non transieris, conficere non potuisse, nunc autem omnia facturum

a sentence understood '[which I tell you] that you may be alarmed' (at the prospect of having too many speeches to read).

maxime] sc. *delectant*. I have put a comma after *maxime*, to show the ellipse. Wes. (Em. Alt. p. 3) compares Fam. xiii. 41, 2; vii. 24, 1; xv. 14, 3.

Aristotelio] Aristotle had written some treatises (which have perished) in dialogue, with prefaces such as Cicero employs; see Ep. cli. § 2. These appear to have been the models which Cicero took for the *De Oratore*. The dialogues of Cicero form a strong contrast to those of Plato in their want of the dramatic element. Cicero explains, in Att. xiii. 19, 4, what he means there by *Aristotelium morem*, but it does not suit this passage. He constantly describes the style of Aristotle as highly ornate, a criticism which certainly does not seem suitable to the works which we possess. See Mr. Reid's note on *flumen orationis aureum fundens Aristoteles*, Acad. ii. 119. Observe, *Aristoteliam*, *Isocratiam*, have the penult. long.

quem ad modum] 'such at least was my aim.'

disputatione] I have struck out *in* before *disputatione*, which is wrong, as is shown by Wes., who compares *scripsi versibus* below.

de temporibus meis] The poem is referred to Ep. cxlv. *fin*. The period embraced by *tempora mea* is defined in the words *tenebam—bonorum omnium*, above, § 12.

quia verebar] Either (1) *quia* must be expunged, with Gronovius, or (2) we must suppose, with Wes., that after *nominare* some such words as *vetui (nolui) divulgari* have dropped out; or (3) we must postulate before *quia* a very harsh ellipse of some words meaning *non nisi*, and taken out of *mississem*.

erat infinitum] Cp. *longum est*, 'twere tedious.'

istam partem] 'all this side of my life and work I submit unreservedly to you,' Jeans.

24. *de Q. fratris negotio*] Q. wished to purchase some farm near his own estate

ut conficias, id scito esse eius modi, ut frater meus vere existimet adiuncto isto fundo patrimonium fore suum per te constitutum. Tu me de tuis rebus omnibus et de Lentuli tui nostrique studiis et exercitationibus velim quam familiarissime certiore et quam sapissime facias existimesque neminem cuiquam neque cariore neque iucundiorum umquam fuisse quam te mihi, idque me, non modo ut tu sentias, sed ut omnes gentes, etiam ut posteritas omnis intellegat, esse facturum. 25. Appius in sermonibus antea dictitabat, postea dixit etiam in senatu palam, sese, si licitum esset legem curiatam ferre, sortitum esse cum collega provincias: si curiata lex non esset, se paraturum cum collega tibi que successurum: legem curiatam consuli ferri opus esse, necesse non esse: se, quoniam ex senatus consulto provinciam haberet, lege Cornelia imperium habiturum, quoad in urbem introisset. Ego quid ad te tuorum quisque necessariorum scribat nescio: varias esse opiniones intellego. | Sunt qui putant posse te non decedere, quod sine lege curiata tibi succedatur: sunt etiam qui, si decedas, a te relinqui posse qui provinciae praesit. Mihi non tam de iure certum est—quamquam ne id quidem valde dubium est—quam illud, ad tuam summam amplitudinem, dignitatem, libertatem, qua te scio libentissime frui solere, pertinere te sine ulla mora provinciam successor concedere, praesertim cum sine suspitione tuae cupiditatis non possis illius cupiditatem refutare. Ego utrumque meum puto esse, et quid sentiam ostendere et quod feceris defendere.

in Arpinum from a man who was then in Cilicia, and thought that Lentulus might be able to effect the transaction for him.

25. *legem curiatam*] The question is, was a *lex curiata* indispensable (*necesse esse*), or only merely desirable (*opus esse*), for a consul about to assume the government of a province. Appius maintained that as a province had already been assigned him by a *senatusconsultum* (under *lex Sempronia C. Graechi*), he was thereby vested with the *imperium* (by a *lex Cornelia Sullae*). This would give Appius an *imperium*, which he could retain until he entered the city on his return from his province, but would not enable him to triumph. Such a course, however, would avoid the risk of an *intercessio* to the *lex curiata*. Appius did ultimately get a *lex curiata*.

paraturum] 'that he would arrange.' The comic poets use *parare* with *ut* and *ne*

in the sense of 'to arrange,' 'order' (see L. S.). Hence it is not impossible that *parare* should mean 'to make an arrangement' in the colloquial Latin (*hodiernis verbis*) in which the letters are written, and we are not forced to accept *comparaturum*, the conjecture of Wes.

sunt qui putant] This must mean 'a certain party or school' (of jurists or interpreters of Roman procedure) hold that you may refuse to leave your province. *Sunt qui putent* would be far more natural; but *putant* must certainly be retained, as the more difficult, and therefore more probable reading.

libertatem] 'independence,' as in §§ 2, 20.

refutare] 'to thwart,' 'check.' In baffling the greed of Appius to get the province, he would incur himself the suspicion of greed (over-eagerness for office), by refusing to give up his province.

26. Scripta iam epistola superiore accepi tuas litteras de publicanis, quibus aequitatem tuam non potui non probare: felicitate quadam vellem consequi potuisses, ne eius ordinis, quem semper ornasti, rem aut voluntatem offenderes. Equidem non desinam tua decreta defendere: sed nosti consuetudinem hominum, scis quam graviter inimici ipsi illi Q. Scaevolae fuerint. Tibi tamen sum auctor, ut, si quibus rebus possis, eum tibi ordinem aut reconcilies aut mitiges. Id etsi difficile est, tamen mihi videtur esse prudentiae tuae.

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CLIV. FROM CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IV. 18).

ROME, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

De Gabinio absoluto, de sua condicione, de expectato Attici reditu, de interregno futuro, de multitudine reorum, pravitate iudicium, de Gabinio Antiocho condemnato, de Pomptini cupiditate triumpho, de Appio, de Q. fratris et Caesaris litteris, de expectato Attici cum Dionysio adventu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. [Ep. XVI. 9.] . . . † Nunc ut opinionem habeas rerum, ferendum est. Quaeris ego me ut gesserim? Constanter et libere. 'Quid ille,' inquires, 'ut ferebat?' Humaniter, meaeque dignitatis, quoad mihi satis factum esset, habendam sibi rationem putabat. Quomodo ergo absolutus est? Omnino γοργεῖα γυμνά, accusa-

26. This is a postscript. *felicitate quadam*] 'I can only wish you a kind of *luck* to escape running counter to their wishes or feelings' (everything that does not depend on chance you will bring to bear yourself). In Fam. iii. 8, 7, *minus felicem* is used in a very similar context.

Scaevolae] who governed Asia most uprightly in 655 (99), and thus incurred the enmity of the publicans.

prudentiae tuae] 'within the reach of your sagacity,' Jeans.

lost; it, no doubt, recorded the acquittal of Gabinius on the charge of *maiestas*.

2. *me ut gesserim*] See Q. Fr. iii. 2, 2. *ille*] Pompeius. See Q. Fr. iii. 1, 15.

humaniter] 'he made the best of the matter, and made up his mind to consider my dignity, until satisfactory atonement should be made to me for the conduct of Gabinius towards me.'

γοργεῖα γυμνά] (His accusers were) 'mere bugbears'; that is, they pretended much eagerness to procure a verdict against Gabinius, but really refrained from exerting themselves to bring about that result. Their impeachment was full

1. The beginning of this letter has been

torum incredibilis infantia, id est, L. Lentuli, L. f., quem fremunt omnes praevaricatum, deinde Pompeii mira contentio, iudicium sordes. Ac tamen xxxii condemnarunt, xxxiix absolverunt. Iudicia reliqua impendent: nondum est plane expeditus. 2. [ep. XVI. 10.] Dices: Tu ergo haec quo modo fers? Belle mehercule et in eo me valde amo. Amisimus, mi Pomponi, omnem non modo sucum atque sanguinem, sed etiam colorem et speciem pristinae civitatis. Nulla est res publica, quae delectet, in qua acquiescam. Idne igitur, inquires, facile fers? Id ipsum. Recordor enim quam bella paullisper nobis gubernantibus civitas fuerit, quae mihi gratia relata sit. Nullus dolor me angit unum omnia posse; dirumpuntur ii, qui me aliquid posse doluerunt: multa mihi dant solatia, nec tamen ego de meo statu demigro, quaeque vita maxime est ad naturam, ad eam me refero, ad litteras et studia nostra: dicendi laborem delectatione oratoria consolor. Domus me et rura nostra delectant. Non recordor unde ceciderim, sed unde surrexerim. Fratrem mecum et te si habebo, per me isti pedibus trahantur, vobis συμφιλοσοφῆσαι possum. Locus ille animi nostri, stomachus ubi habitabat olim, concalluit. Privata modo et domestica nos delectant. Miram securitatem videbis, cuius plurimae mehercule partes sunt in tuo reditu. Nemo enim in terris est mihi tam consentientibus sensibus. 3. [ep. XVI. 11.] Sed accipe alia. Res fluit ad interregnum et est non nullus odor dictaturae, sermo quidem multus, qui

of sound and fury, signifying nothing. We should rather say, 'it was a mere flash in the pan'—was not intended to issue in a verdict against Gabinius. He has already said *accusatoribus frigidissimis utitur* (Q. Fr. iii. 3, 3); but to conceal their collusion with the defence, the prosecutors were obliged to assume great animosity, while withholding such evidence as would really tell against the accused. Hence γοργεῖα γυμνά, the conjecture of Bosius, is precisely such a phrase as is required here, and it may be almost said to be the reading of M, there being almost no difference palaeographically between Γ and Π, which always has its second stroke very much shortened in mss. γυμνά is just the word in Cicero's Greek for 'mere,' 'bare'; cp. γυμνὸς κόκκος, 1 Cor. xv. 37. Cp. 'Ho! such bugs and goblins,' Hamlet v. 2, 22.

infantia] 'weakness,' though no doubt intentional weakness.

contentio] to procure the acquittal of Gabinius.

iudicia reliqua] *de repetundis* and *de ambitu*.

2. *me amo*] 'I congratulate myself.' *Multum te amamus, valde te amo* means 'I am much obliged to you.'

del. oratoria] 'the pleasure I feel in oratory.'

isti] sc. ii qui me aliquid posse doluerunt (used again Fam. vii. 32, 2).

pedibus trahantur] a formula of execration, meaning, 'let the worst happen to them for all I care.' Boot compares the words of Ulysses to Telemachus, Od. xvi. 276, when he tells Telemachus to endure calmly whatever outrages he may see the suitors inflict on his father—

ἦν περ καὶ διὰ δῶμα ποδῶν ἔλκωσι θύραζε.

etiam Gabinium apud timidos iudices adiuvit. Candidati consulatus omnes rei ambitus. Accedit etiam Gabinus, quem P. Sulla non dubitans quin foris esset postularat, contra dicente et nihil obtinente Torquato. Sed omnes absolventur nec posthac quisquam damnabitur nisi qui hominem occiderit. Hoc tamen agitur severius, itaque indicia calent. M. Fulvius Nobilior damnatus est. Multi alii urbani ne respondent quidem. 4. [ep. XVI. 12.] Quid aliud novi? Etiam. Absoluto Gabinio stomachantes alii iudices hora post Antiochum Gabinium nescio quem e Sopolidis pictoribus, libertum, accensum Gabinii, lege Papia condemnarunt. Itaque dixit statim †resp. lege maiestatis †ΟΥΥΟΙΜΠΙCΑΜΑΦΙΗΙ. Pomptinus volt a. d. VI. Non. Novembr. triumphare. Huic obviam Cato et Servilius praetores

3. *foris esset*] Here and at Pis. 12 this expression is explained to mean 'to be bankrupt'; *egere, foris esse* is the phrase in Pis. 12, where it is applied to this same Gabinus. But the reading there is by no means certain. If the text is sound, *foris esse* must bear this meaning, for Sulla could not have been encouraged to prosecute Gabinus by knowing that he was 'outside the city'; besides, he had long since entered the city. But how does *foris esse* come to mean 'to be destitute of money' (for purposes of bribery)? 'To be in the people's power, that is, in debt,' say the Dictt., but this is plainly insufficient. If *foris esse* means 'to be bankrupt,' it must be an expression like our 'to be out at elbows,' 'to have nothing domi' (cp. *meo sum pauper in aere*), and it is very strange that it should not occur in Latin comedy, nor anywhere, save in two passages of Cicero, and with reference to the same man. Of course, this meaning would excellently suit the present passage. Sulla knew that Gabinus had spent the spoils of his province in bribing the jury which acquitted him of *maiestas*; he would, therefore, be now without means to bribe the jury in Sulla's suit. Dio Cass. would seem to imply that Gabinus was a defaulter; that he did not pay the *iudices* the bribes which he promised, ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὧν ἐδώροδόκησε σμικρὰ ἅττα τῶν τε ἀρχόντων τινὲς καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες, xxxix. 55. Hence, perhaps *foris esse* is rather to be a defaulter than a bankrupt.

contra dicente] contending against Sulla for the office of prosecutor.

occiderit] e.g. Procilius: see Att. iv. 15, 4.

urbani] 'several others are polite enough not to enter any defence,' and so save the *iudices* the trouble of trying the case.

4. *Etiam*] 'Yes, one thing more.'

†ουυοιμπισαμαφιη] Boot rightly says of these words, that Cicero must be raised from the dead to explain them, if ever they are to be understood. The old commentators see in the last of the corrupt words the name Παφίη, and suppose a play on the Papia Law and the Paphian goddess, οὗ σ' οἶδ' Ἀρης ἄμα Παφίη, or some such words. But such a joke would be very poor and far-fetched, and the supposed *nonne scio Mars te cum Paphia rem habuisse* cannot be got out of the words. The circumstances were these: an hour after Gabinus was acquitted of *maiestas* another jury found his freedman and *accensus*, a person employed in the studio of Sopolis, a celebrated painter of the time, guilty under the Papian law of 688 (66), *ne quis peregrinus se pro cive gereret*. His condemnation was due to the indignation felt against Gabinus. His *mot*, whatever it was, may be supposed to have referred to the cause of his condemnation, or else to the certainty that Gabinus would be found guilty in the *religiosa iudicia*, which are above spoken of. Perhaps his use of Greek was regarded as characteristic in one condemned under the Papian law.

triumphare] for successes against the Allobroges in 693 (61).

aperte et Q. Mucius tribunus. Negant enim latum de imperio, et est latum hercule insulse. Sed erit cum Pomptino Appius consul. Cato tamen adfirmat se vivo illum non triumphaturum. Id ego puto, ut multa eiusdem, ad nihil recasurum. Appius sine lege, suo sumptu, in Ciliciam cogitat. 5. [ep. XVII. 3.] A. Quinto fratre et a Caesare accepi a. d. ix. Kal. Nov. litteras, datas a littoribus Britanniae proximis a. d. vi. Kal. Octobr. Confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla praeda, imperata tamen pecunia, exercitum e Britannia reportabant. Q. Pilius erat iam ad Caesarem profectus. Tu, si aut amor in te est nostri ac tuorum aut ulla veritas, aut si etiam sapis ac frui tuis commodis cogitas, adventare ac prope adesse iam debes. Non mehercule aequo animo te careo. Te autem quid mirum, qui Dionysium tanto opere desiderem? quem quidem abs te, cum dies venerit, et ego et Cicero meus flagitabit. Abs te proximas litteras habebam Epheso a. d. v. Id. Sextil. datas.

insulse] The opponents of the triumph declared that the law to confer the *im-perium* had not been passed; 'and stupid enough, indeed, the passing of it was,' says Cicero, who despises the want of *finesse* displayed by Servius Galba, in resorting to the old-fashioned method of carrying his law, by presenting himself in the assembly before dawn. Cicero does

not stop to directly contradict the allegation of the opponents of the triumph. Dio Cass. xxxix. 65 says: οὐκ ἔξδν ἐκ τῶν νόμων, πρὶν πρῶτην ὥραν γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τι χρηματισθῆναι.

5. *proximis*] *sc.* to Italy.

confecta] 'settled,' = *composita*.

imperata pecunia] 'having imposed a money tribute.'

CLV. FROM CICERO TO QUINTUS

(Q. FR. III. 5 AND 6).

TUSCULANUM, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri de libris de re publica Sallustii monitu refingendis, de Caesaris erga se amore exponit: sequitur de versibus scribendis excusatio, de rei publicae statu conquestio, de Gabinio a se non defenso, de suo in libris Quinto emendis studio, de tragoediis a Q. fratre scriptis.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Quod quaeris quid de illis libris egerim, quos, cum essem in Cumano, scribere institui, non cessavi neque cesso, sed saepe iam scribendi totum consilium rationemque mutavi. Nam iam duobus factis libris, in quibus novendialibus iis feriis, quae fuerunt Tuditano et Aquilio consulibus, sermo est a me institutus Africani paullo ante mortem et Laelii, Phili, Manilii, P. Rutilii, Q. Tuberonis et Laelii generorum, Fanii et Scaevolae, sermo autem in novem et dies et libros distributus de optimo statu civitatis et de optimo cive—sane texebatur opus luculente hominumque dignitas aliquantum orationi ponderis adferebat—ii libri cum in Tusculano mihi legerentur audiente Sallustio, admonitus sum ab illo multo maiore auctoritate illis de rebus dici posse, si ipse loquerer de re publica, praesertim cum essem non Heraclides Ponticus, sed consularis, et is qui in maximis versatus in re publica rebus essem: quae tam antiquis hominibus attribuerem, ea visum iri ficta esse: oratorum sermonem in illis nostris libris, qui essent de ratione dicendi, belle a me removisse, ad eos tamen rettulisse, quos ipse vidissem, Aristotelem denique, quae de re publica et praestanti viro

1. *illis libris*] De Republica.

saepe] This word seems rather out of place. Did Cicero write *ut saepe* or *caepi* . . . *mutare*? He goes on to say that he has remodelled the plan of the whole work; but why 'often'? If he wrote *ut saepe*, the meaning would be clear: 'I

have remodelled the plan of my book, as I often have done in other works.'

Heraclides] a mere theorist, who never took any active part in politics, as Cicero did.

qui essent de rat. dicendi] The three books *De Oratore*.

scribat, ipsum loqui. 2. Commovit me et eo magis, quod maximos motus nostrae civitatis attingere non poteram, quod erant inferiores quam illorum aetas, qui loquebantur. Ego autem id ipsum tum eram secutus, ne in nostra tempora incurrens offenderem quempiam. Nunc et id vitabo et loquar ipse [tecum] et tamen illa, quae institueram, ad te, si Romam venero, mittam. Puto enim te existimaturum a me illos libros non sine aliquo meo stomacho esse refectos. 3. Caesaris amore, quem ad me perscripsi, unice delector: promissis iis, quae ostendit, non valde pendeo, nec sitio honores nec desidero gloriam, magisque eius voluntatis perpetuitatem quam promissorum exitum exspecto. Vivo tamen in ea ambitione et labore, *tamquam* id, quod non postulo, exspectem. 4. Quod me de versibus faciendis rogas, incredibile est, mi frater, quam egeam tempore, nec sane satis commoveor animo ad ea, quae vis, canenda. † ΑΜΠΩΕΙΣ vero ad ea, quae ipse ego ne cogitando quidem consequor, tu, qui omnes isto eloquendi et exprimendi genere superasti, a me petis? Facerem tamen, ut possem, sed, quod te minime fugit, opus est ad poëma quadam animi alacritate, quam plane mihi tempora eripiunt. Abduco me equidem ab omni rei publicae cura dedoque litteris, sed tamen indicabo tibi, quod mehercule in primis te celatum volebam. Angor, mi suavissime frater, angor nullam esse rem publicam, nulla iudicia nostrumque hoc tempus aetatis, quod in illa auctoritate senatoria florere debebat, aut forensi labore iactari aut domesticis litteris sustentari, illud vero, quod a puero adamaram,

Πολλὸν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχος ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,

totum occidisse, inimicos a me partim non oppugnatos, partim etiam esse defensos, meum non modo animum, sed ne odium quidem esse liberum, unumque ex omnibus Caesarem esse inventum qui me tantum, quantum ego vellem, amaret, aut etiam, sicut alii putant, hunc unum esse qui vellet. Quorum tamen nihil est eius

2. *inferiores*] 'later than.'
refectos] 'remodelled.' I cannot understand *relictos*, the reading of the margin of M, which is given by all the edd. for REDDITOS of M. *Refectos* is my conjecture. *Illa quae inst.* means 'my *première ébauche*.' The meaning of *enim* thus becomes clear: 'I will send you the work

in its original form [I have kept it, still feeling an affection for it]; *for* you can fancy that the remodelling cost me a pang.'

4. ἀμπωεις] The reading presented by most edd. is ὑποθέσεις, a word found in Q. Fr. ii. 16, 4. Perhaps Cicero wrote ἐμπνεύσεις, 'inspirations.' He would

modi, ut ego me non multa consolatione cotidie leniam, sed illa erit consolatio maxima, si una erimus. Nunc ad illa vel gravissimum accedit desiderium tui. 5 Gabinium si, ut Pansa putat oportuisse, defendissem, concidissem: qui illum oderunt — ii sunt toti ordines — propter quem oderunt, me ipsum odisse coepissent. Tenui me, ut puto, egregie, tantum ut facerem, quantum omnes viderunt. Et in omni summa, ut mones, valde me ad otium pacemque converto. 6. De libris, Tyrannio est cessator: Chrysippo dicam, sed res operosa est et hominis perdiligentis. Sentio ipse, qui in summo studio nihil adsequor. De Latinis vero quo me vertam nescio: ita mendose exscribuntur et veneunt, sed tamen quod fieri poterit, non neglegam. C. Rebilus, ut ante ad te scripsi, Romae est, et qui omnia † adiurat, debere tibi valde renuntiant. De aerario puto confectum esse, dum absum.

7. Quattuor tragoedias xvi diebus absolvisse cum scribas, tu quidquam ab alio mutuaris? et χροός quaeris, cum Electram et Troadas scripseris? Cessator esse noli, et illud γυνῶθι σεαυτὸν noli putare ad adrogantiam minuendam solum esse dictum, verum etiam ut bona nostra norimus. Sed et istas et Erigonam mihi velim mittas. Habes ad duas epistolas proximas.

then be bantering his brother for asking him for *hints* about a poem on the exploits of Caesar, though he was on the spot, and ought to be inspired by the place itself.

5. *tantum . . . viderunt*] 'I confined myself to doing what all could see,' namely, giving evidence against Gabinius: see Q. Fr. iii. 4; 3, 9, 1.

6. *cessator*] in copying.
exscribuntur] 'are copied out.' Cp. Fam. xvi. 21, 8, in *exscribendis hypomnematis*.

C. Rebilus] We learn that two years after this time he was a lieutenant of Caesar's in Gaul, B. G. vii. 83, 90. He was now probably a centurion in Quintus' legion on furlough in Rome.

et qui omnia] For the corrupt words of the ms here Boot (Obss. Cr. p. 38) would read *et qui omnia tibi debere dixerat valde te nunc iactat*. By *iactat* he understands 'runs you down,' 'abuses you.' For this sense of *iactare* see note on Ep. cxxii. § 1.

De aerario] See on Ep. clii. § 5.

CLVI. FROM CICERO TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 7).

TUSCULANUM, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri Romae ingentem adluviem fuisse scribit.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Romae et maxime . . . et Appia ad Martis mira alluvies; Crassipedis ambulatio ablata, horti, tabernae plurimae, magna vis aquae usque ad piscinam publicam. Viget illud Homeri:

Ἡματ' ὁπωρινῶ, ὅτε λαβρότατον χέει ὕδωρ
Ζεύς, ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἄνδρεςσι κοτεσσάμενος χαλεπήνῃ.

Cadit enim in absolutionem Gabinii:

Οὐ βίη εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιὰς κρίνωσι θέμιστας,
Ἐκ δὲ δίκην ἐλάσωσι, θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.

Sed haec non curare decrevi. 2. Romam cum venero, quae perspexero, scribam ad te et maxime de dictatura, et ad Labienum et ad Ligurium litteras dabo. Hanc scripsi ante lucem ad lychnuchum ligneolum, qui mihi erat periucundus, quod eum te aiebant, cum esses Sami, curasse faciendum. Vale, mi suavissime et optime frater.

1. *et Appia*] Something is no doubt lost here. Most edd. disregard the *et* before *Appia*, and print *Romae et maxime Appia*, 'in Rome, and especially on the Appian Way.' But Cicero would hardly have spoken of the *Via Appia* as a part of Rome, and the *et* before *Appia* points to an omission.

ad Martis] 'near the temple of Mars.'

viget] 'the Homeric theory is still true.' Zeus sends violent rain to punish men for their unjust dealings. This plague of rain is his protest against the acquittal of Gabinus.

cadit . . . in] This may mean—(1) 'is applicable to,' or (2) 'synchronises with';

rather (1), for the most natural subject for *cadit* is *illud Homeri*, not *alluvies*. But *cadit* has both meanings. The passage is Il. xvi. 385.

2. *lychnuchum*] Saglio, in his fine article on *candelabrum*, says that wooden *lychnuchi* were the commonest. Cp. Petronius 95, and Martial xiv. 44. Others were made of gold, silver, bronze, marble, glass, and clay. *Ligneolus* probably means 'of very thin wood,' which would, of course, enhance the beauty of the *candelabrum*.

Sami] This island belonged to Asia, the province of Quintus, and was no doubt visited by Quintus during his praetorship.

CLVII. FROM CICERO TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 16).

ROME, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

Facete M. Cicero laudat C. Trebatii sapientiam in vitando belli discrimine, ut timiditatis eum arguat.

[M.] CICERO TREBATIO.

1. In Equo Troiano scis esse: *in extremo sero sapiunt*. Tu tamen, mi vetule, non sero. Primas illas rabiosulas sat fatuas dedisti: deinde . . . Quod in Britannia non nimis φιλοθέωρον te praeuisti, plane non reprehendo: nunc verò in hibernis intectus mihi videris: itaque te commovere non curas.

Usque quaque sapere oportet: id erit telum acerrimum.

1. *Equo Troiano*] A play of this name is ascribed both to Livius and to Naevius. The proverb is usually supposed to be *sero sapiunt* because Festus says, *sero sapiunt Phryges proverbium est natum a Troianis qui decimo denique anno velle coeperunt Helenam quaeque eum ea erant rapta reddere*. But according to Festus *sero sapiunt Phryges* is the proverb, and he says nothing about its being a quotation from a play. Here we have expressly a quotation from a play. I believe the words quoted from this play to be *in extremo sero sapiunt*, referring possibly to the Phrygians, but possibly having a general application.

in extremo] The words mean ‘when a man comes to extremities it is too late to show the discretion which might have saved him.’ The passage is usually printed, in *Equo Troiano scis esse in extremo: Sero sapiunt*. But why should Cicero mention the *part of the play* at which the words occur? Besides, *sero sapiunt* can hardly be called a sentiment at all, while *in extremo sero sapiunt* is a good proverb. For the words require some further qualification; they should give some class of men who ‘are wise too late,’ or some circumstances under

which it is too late to be sensible. The proverb, as I understand it, fulfils the last condition, and says that ‘when things have come to an extremity it is too late to be wise.’ I need not point out that the words as I have given them,

‘in extremo sero sapiunt,’

form the beginning of a good iambic verse according to old Latin prosody and scansion.

mi vetule] This address is merely playful. He calls Trebatius ‘my old fellow,’ because he is cautious—has an old head on young shoulders. He congratulates Trebatius on being wise in time, and seeing the folly of the spirit reflected in his earlier letters—a spirit of impatience and discontent, and foolish yearning for Rome.

primas] ‘Your earlier letters were couched in a mad-dog strain that was silly enough—but then’—you know the rest—you know how you changed your tone.

in Britannia] ‘In the matter of going to Britain.’

non nimis φιλοθέωρον] ‘Not too great a gadabout.’

intectus] It appears from the next letter that there was an insufficient supply

2. Ego|si foris cenitarem, Cn. Octavio familiari tuo non defuissem :
cui tamen dixi, cum me aliquotiens invitaret :

Oro te, quis tu es ?

Sed mehercules, extra iocum, homo bellus est : vellem eum tecum abduxisses. 3. Quid agatis et ecquid in Italiam venturi sitis hac hieme fac plane sciam. Balbus mihi confirmavit te divitem futurum. [Id utrum Romano more locutus sit, bene nummatum te futurum ;] an, quo modo Stoici dicunt 'omnes esse divites, qui caelo et terra frui possint,' postea videbo. Qui istinc veniunt superbiam tuam accusant, quod negent te percontantibus respondere. Sed tamen est quod gaudeas. Constat enim inter omnes neminem te uno Samarobrivae iuris peritiorem esse.

of the *sagum* or military cloak, which was also used as a blanket. Cicero alludes to this fact, and says, 'therefore, naturally you don't care to stir abroad.' Then he quotes a verse from some poet which seems to have little point, except in so far as there is a kind of play on *sapere* 'to be a man of sense,' which meaning it seems to bear in the quotation, and *sapere* as applied especially to juriconsults, *sapiens* having been the *sobriquet* of Curius, Fabricius, Coruncanius, &c. (Lael. 18). So in the next letter he congratulates Trebatius on being in a country where he might seem *aliquid sapere*, that is, where (in the absence of rivalry) he would be at the very top of his profession. But all this is very far-fetched. And it must be remembered that *iniectus*, not *intectus*, is the ms reading. This would not be of very great importance, were it not that *inicere*, as well as *iniectio*, has a juridical sense, 'to seize on as one's property without a judicial decision,' as in the case of a runaway slave. If *iniectus* could possibly mean 'subjected to this process' we should have a characteristically playful use of a juridical term, 'under arrest,' *inicere manum* takes an accusative of the person arrested, but I will not go so far as to say that this would justify *iniectus* 'arrested': *iniectus* certainly does not bear its ordinary meaning here: it is either a juridical term, or it is unsound, and must give place to some conjecture such as *intectus*.

2. *Ego*] The answer to a question ; see on Ep. lxii. § 1. Trebatius had asked Cicero why he would not accept the invitation of Octavius to dine.

Oro te, quis tu es] Probably a quotation from some poet.

vellem eum] 'a capital fellow surely. Would you had taken him away with you.' Cp. *Taming of the Shrew*, i. 1, 253,

First Serv. Mylord, you nod : you do not mind the play.

Sly. Yes, by Saint Anne, do I. A good matter surely. Comes there any more of it ?

Page. My lord, 'tis but begun.

Sly. 'Tis a very excellent piece of work, madam lady: would 'twere done.

3. *ecquid*] 'at all.'

in Italiam] into winter quarters to Ravenna, which was the nearest point to Rome in the province of Caesar.

more Romano] 'literally.' Sometimes the phrase means 'simply,' 'plainly,' 'without circumlocution,' like *more maiorum*, Ep. x. § 1.

quod negent] 'because, as they say, you do not.' This is the virtual oblique ; for which see on Ep. x. § 3, *diceret*.

respondere] is a technical for giving counsel's opinion. Hence the *responsa prudentium*, or opinions of counsel, were an authoritative source of Roman Law. Of course Trebatius does not 'give counsel's opinions' in the camp of Caesar ; but *respondere percontantibus* also means 'to reply to one who asks you a question ;' to fail to do this would show much arrogant reserve. Hence the joke, which, though certainly not of much merit, is repeated afterwards, Fam. i. 10, in writing to L. Valerius, another juriconsult.

Samarobrivae] Amiens, the chief town in Gallia Belgica.

CLVIII. FROM CICERO TO ATTICUS (ATT. IV. 19).

ROME, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

De adventu Attici sibi gratissimo, de condicione rei publicae, de sua et Q. fratris Caesare coniunctione, de legatione sua a Pompeio accepta, de Dionysio eiusque cum Attico adventu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. O exspectatas mihi tuas litteras! o gratum adventum! o constantiam promissi et fidem miram! o navigationem amandam! quam mehercule ego valde timebam, recordans superioris tuae transmissionis δέρρεις. Sed, nisi fallor, citius te quam scribis videbo. Credo enim te putasse tuas mulieres in Apulia esse, quod cum secus erit, quid te Apulia moretur? num Vestorio dandi sunt dies et ille Latinus ἀττικισμός ex intervallo regustandus? Quin tu huc advolas et invis is illius nostrae rei publicae germanae . . .?

1. *adventum*] from Asia.

δέρρεις] Atticus must have told how, in a former voyage, he had to use *skins* to keep out the cold. But it is remarkable that above (Att. iv. 18, 2) δέρρεις is found where it is obviously corrupt. For *nemo enim in terris est mihi tam consentientibus sensibus*, M. gives δέρρεις for *terris*, M¹ reading *nemo enim δέρρεις in terris*, &c., M² *nemo enim δέρρεις in ceteris*. Yet it can hardly be a corruption of *terris* or *terra* here; *transmissio* means a 'passage by sea,' and the context shows, moreover, that two sea voyages are compared.

erit] If the text is sound here, *erit* must mean 'will be found to be,' 'when this—that the ladies of your family are in Apulia—is found by you not to be the case.' Wes. thinks this such an unnatural construction, that he would read here *quod quoniam secus erit*. But this use of the future is characteristic of the language of the comic stage, and, therefore, natural in a letter. Cp. *hic inerunt*, ('will be found to be') *viginti minae*, Pl. As. iii. 8, 144; *conveniet*, 'you'll

find it right,' Ter. Phorm. 53. Cp. also *quiescet*, Juv. i. 126, and Mayor's note there. *Sic erit*, 'you'll find it to be so,' is common in the comic poets.

num] I read *num* for *nam*. This is the answer to *quid te A. moretur*: 'Surely you won't give any days to Vestorius, or feel disposed to taste again of his home-made Attic salt?' This is surely the meaning; for with *nam* of the ms there is no connexion: 'Why should Apulia detain you? For you must give some days to V., &c. Come here at once.' With *num* the train of thought is 'Why should Apulia detain you? Surely you won't let Vestorius do so. Come at once.' Vestorius was no doubt in Apulia, and the words *ille Latinus ἀττικισμός* seem to me to be ironical.

germanae . . .] The usual reading here is *germanam*, and the meaning is supposed to be 'fly hither at once, and visit again this very sister of the old republic' (*germanam* ironical). But Cicero does not use *germana* without *soror*, for 'a sister,' and even if he did, he would

† putavi de nummis ante comitia tributim uno loco divisim palam, inde absolutum Gabinium. [ep. XVIII. 3.] † dictaturam fruere iustitia et omnium rerum licentia. 2. Perspice aequitatem animi mei et † ludum et contemptionem Felicianae unciae et meherecule cum Caesare suavissimam coniunctionem—haec enim me una ex hoc naufragio tabula delectat—, qui quidem Quintum meum tuumque, di boni! quem ad modum tractat honore, dignitate, gratia! non secus ac si ego essem imperator. Hiberna legionis eligendi optio delata commodum, ut ad me scribit. Hunc tu non ames? quem igitur istorum? Sed heus tu, scripseramne tibi me esse legatum Pompeio? et extra urbem quidem fore ex Idibus

not have employed the awkward irony which is usually here imputed to him, and which is justly ridiculed by Wes. (Em. Alt. p. 102). Now Cicero is very fond of the word *germanus* in the senses 'real,' 'genuine.' I strongly agree with the theory of Wes., that some words on which *germanae* depends have here fallen out. The words he suggests are *umbram*, *imaginem*, or *simulacrum*, all of which are used to indicate an absence of genuineness, and are contrasted with words like *germanus*. Wes. quotes many examples, but one is *instar omnium*; it is Off. iii. 69, *germanae iustitiae solidam effigiem nullam habemus, umbra et imaginibus utimur*. Hence I would read, nearly with Wes., *quin tu huc advolas et invis illius nostrae reipublicae germanae hanc umbram et imaginem*, 'this mere shadow and semblance of the real republic that we once enjoyed.' A reference to the Adn. Crit. will show that *germanae* is nearer to the ms than *germanam*.

putavi de] These words are quite corrupt. The simplest remedy is *peti vides nummis ante comitia tributim uno loco divisim palam, inde absolutum Gabinium; ad dictaturam rem ruere* (or *fluere*) *iustitia et omnium rerum licentia*, 'you see from my letters how the candidature is being carried on with utterly undisguised corruption; that to this is to be ascribed the acquittal of Gabinium; that things are fast tending to a dictatorship,' &c. In Ep. clx. § 3, he says the acquittal of Gabinium is equivalent to an Amnesty Act.

2. *ludum*] This word must be corrupt. It could only be rendered here 'my sportive, playful nature,' just as *aequitatem* means 'my easy-going temper.' But *ludus* could not bear any such meaning. Pro-

bably we should read *lauda meam contemptionem*, with Boot.

Felicianae] I have made bold, even in such a quagmire as this letter presents, to set up here a conjecture of my own for *Selicianae* of C, which is accepted by Kl., Btr., and most edd. For what does *Selicianae unciae* mean? We hear of a usurer Selicius; but how does that help us here? Now, in Q. Fr. iii. 9, 8 (Ep. clx.), written certainly within a month from the writing of this letter, perhaps less, we find Cicero telling his brother (as he had no doubt already told Atticus in a lost letter) how one Felix had intended to leave some one or more persons (no doubt Marcus and Quintus Cicero) heirs each to a twelfth of his property; but through the negligence of Felix himself and his slave Sicurra, a different testament was signed by Felix, and so Marcus and Quintus lost their bequests through an accident. *Felicianus* is from Felix, as *Ciceronianus*, *Caesarianus* from Cicero, Caesar. Cicero here writes to Atticus: 'commend me for my indifference to this loss, as well as for the charming intimacy I have established with Caesar.'

enim] The sentence explains why he called his *coniunctio* with Caesar *suavissima*. We learn from a previous letter (Caesaris amici, me dico et Oppium, *dirumparis licet*, Att. iv. 16, 8), that Atticus was opposed to Cicero's close connexion with Caesar.

tabula] He compares the state of this to a wreck: the one plank to which he clings is his connexion with Caesar.

delata] to Quintus. *Commodum* = *modo*, *paullo ante*, is quite a colloquialism, frequent in comedy and the letters, hardly ever elsewhere in classical writers.

Ianuariis? Visum est hoc mihi ad multa quadrare. Sed quid plura? Coram, opinor, reliqua, ut tu tamen aliquid exspectes. Dionysio plurimam salutem, cui quidem ego non modo servavi, sed etiam aedificavi locum. Quid quaeris? ad summam laetitiam meam, quam ex tuo reditu capio, magnus illius adventu cumulus accedet. Quo die ad me venies, tu, si me amas, apud me cum tuis maneat.

CLIX. FROM CICERO TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 8).

ROME, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit de perferendis militiae molestiis et cautione in litteris dandis adhibenda, de carmine ad Caesarem componendo, de spe candidatorum consularis, de dictaturae timore, de Serrani funere, de Milonis ludis.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Superiori epistolae quod respondeam nihil est, quae plena stomachi et querellarum est, quo in genere alteram quoque te scribis pridie Labieno dedisse, qui adhuc non venerat. Delevit enim mihi omnem molestiam recentior epistola. Tantum te et moneo et rogo, ut in istis molestiis et laboribus et desiderijs recordere consilium nostrum quod fuerit profectionis tuae. Non enim commoda quaedam sequebamur parva ac mediocria. Quid enim erat quod discessu nostro emendum putaremus? Praesidium firmissimum petebamus ex optimi et potentissimi viri benevolentia ad omnem statum nostrae dignitatis. Plura ponuntur in spe quam

quadrare] 'to fall in with' (my plans).

1. *consilium . . . prof. tuae*] 'what was the way in which I regarded your going to the camp of Caesar,' 'what was my view of the *rationale* of your taking that step.'

plura ponuntur] 'you have made a larger investment in the form of ambition (your future prospects) than of money. The necessary sum to meet your expenses

will be found.' Such seems to me to be the meaning of the passage, not as Sch. takes it, *reliqua emolumenta, ut pecuniarum, sic tibi parabis, ut etiam iacturam eorum, si acciderit, aequo animo ferre possis*, which sentiment does not seem to me to lie in the words. Possibly one might render 'other gains (except one's hopes from Caesar) will be made only to be thrown away,' or 'other gains will be made only with a view to their possible loss in future.'

in pecuniis: reliqua ad iacturam struentur. Qua re si crebro referes animum tuum ad rationem et veteris consilii nostri et spei, facilius istos militiae labores ceteraque, quae te offendunt, feres, et tamen cum voles depones. Sed eius rei maturitas nequedum venit et tamen iam appropinquat. 2. Etiam illud te admoneo, ne quid ullis litteris committas quod, si prolatum sit, moleste feramus. Multa sunt, quae ego nescire malo quam cum aliquo periculo fieri certior. Plura ad te vacuo animo scribam, cum, ut spero, se Cicero meus belle habebit. Tu velim cures ut sciam quibus nos dare oporteat eas, quas ad te deinde litteras mittemus; Caesarisne tabellariis, ut is ad te protinus mittat, an Labieni: ubi enim isti sint Nervii et quam longe absint nescio. 3. De virtute et gravitate Caesaris, quam in summo dolore adhibuisset, magnam ex epistola tua cepi voluptatem. Quod me institutum ad illum poëma iubes perficere, etsi distentus cum opera tum animo sum multo magis, tamen quoniam ex epistola, quam ad te miseram, cognovit Caesar me aliquid esse exorsum, revertar ad institutum idque perficiam his supplicationum otiosis diebus, quibus Messalam iam nostrum reliquosque molestia levatos vehementer gaudeo, eumque quod certum consulem cum Domitio numeratis, nihil a nostra opinione dissentitis. Ego Messallam Caesari praestabo. Sed Memmius in adventu Caesaris habet spem, in quo illum puto errare: hic quidem friget. Scaurum autem iam pridem Pompeius abiecit. 4. Res prolatae: ad interregnum comitia adducta. Rumor dictatoris iniucundus bonis, mihi etiam magis quae loquuntur. Sed tota res et timetur et refrigescit. Pompeius plane se negat velle: antea mihi ipse non negabat. Hirrus auctor fore videtur. O di, quam ineptus! quam se ipse amans sine rivali! Caelium Vinicianum, hominem mihi deditum, per me deterruit. Velit nolit

2. *isti Nervii*] 'those Nervii of yours, where you are in winter quarters.'

3. *adhibuisset*] 'shown by him, as you tell me'; such is the force of the subjunctive.

molestia levatos] because the trials were suspended during the days of supplicatio decreed in honour of Caesar.

praestabo] 'I will guarantee that his conduct shall be acceptable to Caesar.'

4. *adducta*] 'the elections have been so often postponed that an interregnum seems likely.'

auctor] 'will propose that Pompeius should assume the dictatorship.'

quam ineptus] This seems to refer to Pompeius, not to Hirrus.

sine rivali] Cp. *quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares*, Hor. A. P. 444; *licebit eum solus anes; me aemulum non habebis*, Att. vi. 3, 7.

per me] 'through my agency Pompeius prevented him from moving for a dictator.'

Caelium Vinicianum] This name is restored by Man. for *Crassum Iunianum*. The latter does not appear to be mentioned elsewhere at all. The former is mentioned in Fam. 413, in connexion with the appointment of Pompeius as dictator.

scire difficile est. Hirro tamen agente nolle se non probabit. Aliud hoc tempore de re publica nihil loquebantur: agebatur quidem certe nihil. 5. Serrani Domestici filii funus perluctuosum fuit a. d. iix Kalend, Decembr. Laudavit pater scripto meo. 6. Nunc de Milone. Pompeius ei nihil tribuit et omnia Guttæ dicitque se perfecturum, ut illo Caesar incumbat. Hoc horret Milo, nec iniuria, et, si ille dictator factus sit, paene diffidit. Intercessorem dictaturæ si iuverit manu et praesidio suo, Pompeium metuit inimicum: si non iuverit, timet ne per vim perferatur. Ludos apparat magnificentissimos: sic, inquam, ut nemo sumptuosiores: *stulte bis terque,* non postulatos, vel quia munus magnificum dederat vel quia facultates non erant, [vel quia magister,] vel quia potuerat magistrum se, non aedilem putare. Omnia fere scripsi. Cura, mi carissime frater, ut valeas.

non probabit] 'he will not be able to persuade people that he does not care for the dictatorship if Hirrus is the mover in the matter.'

5. *laudavit*] 'delivered over him a funeral oration written by me.'

6. *nihil tribuit*] 'gives him no countenance in his candidature for the consulship in the ensuing year.'

Guttæ] We have never heard of a Gutta as praetor; how then does he come to be a candidate for consulship? Again, we know who Milo's opponents were, P. Pautius Hypsæus and Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio, who was strongly supported by Pompeius. Hence Boot thinks that we should read *Hypsæo* for *Guttæ*. There would have been no occasion to mention Metellus Scipio, for, of course, Pompeius would support his father-in-law. Yet *Hypsæo* is very unlikely to have been changed to *Guttæ*, though mss do make strange mistakes in proper names, as may be seen by referring to the critical notes on this letter. In Fam. vii. 12, 1 (Ep. clxx.) T. and H. give *Pansemus* for *Pansa meus*. If there was any evidence that Q. Caec. Metellus Scipio was a friend of Q. Cicero, I should propose here to read *Q. tuo* for *Guttæ*. Or perhaps Cicero wrote

Q. C. (or Caec.) suo, which, however, is not so near to *Guttæ*, but would suit the sense excellently—'Pompeius is heaping all his influence on his father-in-law, Q. Caecilius, and will not help Milo at all.'

illo] adv. 'that Caesar may throw his weight into that scale.'

ludos] Milo took the opportunity of the death of a friend to give as a legatee magnificent games in his honour. Cicero says he acted very foolishly in giving these games, which were not demanded of him (*non postulatos*) by his position as legatee, and which he could not afford; moreover, he had before given a magnificent show to the people as aedile. Milo's object was to recommend himself to the people as a candidate for the consulship.

bis terque] 'twice or thrice at least'; so *δὶς καὶ τρίς*: *bis terve* is 'twice or thrice at most,' as in Ep. lxvi. 1; ep. *quatuor aut summum quinque*, pro Mil. 12; and *δύο ἢ τρεῖς* in Greek.

vel quia potuerat] Another reason, says Cicero, for not giving the games is, that he might have bethought him that he was not now an aedile, but only a kind of executor to a deceased friend. But this is not satisfactorily expressed. See Adn. Crit.

CLX. FROM CICERO TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 9).

ROME, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit de Gabinio a se non defenso, de Milonis in ludis instituendis profusione, de anni venientis motibus, de mancipiis emendis, de Vatinii epistola, de poemate ad Caesarem absoluto, de Q. fratris aedificiis, de Felicis testamento, de Q. filio.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. De Gabinio nihil fuit faciendum istorum, quae a te amantissime cogitata sunt. *Τότε μοι χάνοι.* Feci summa cum gravitate, ut omnes sentiunt, et summa cum lenitate quae feci: illum neque ursi neque levavi. Testis vehemens fui, praeterea quievi. Exitum iudicii foedum et perniciosum lenissime tuli. Quod quidem bonum mihi nunc denique redundat, ut iis malis rei publicae licentiaque audacium, qua ante rumpebar, nunc ne movear quidem: nihil est enim perditius his hominibus, his temporibus. 2. Itaque ex re publica quoniam nihil iam voluptatis capi potest, cur stomacher nescio. Litterae me et studia nostra et otium villaeque delectant maximeque pueri nostri. Angit unus Milo! Sed velim finem* adferat consulatus: in quo enitar non minus, quam sum enisus in nostro, tuque istinc, quod facis, adiuvabis. De quo cetera, nisi plane vis eripuerit, recte sunt, de re familiari timeo,

ὁ δὲ μαίνεται οὐκ ἔτ' ἀνεκτῶς,

qui ludos HS cccciϞϞϞ. comparet. Cuius in hoc uno inconside-

1. *De Gabinio*] Quintus had thought that Cicero's interests would demand that he should defend Gabinius, and had suggested to him some course of action which should be adopted by him, to avoid the appearance of inconsistency. Cicero now says: 'I need not defend him. Perish the thought! The course which I have taken has, as all feel, shown much dignity and much good temper. I neither assailed him as a prosecutor, nor aided him as an advocate. I gave strong evidence against him, and took no further

step. And I showed no bad temper at the disgraceful issue of the trial.'

τότε μοι χάνοι] *εὐρεία χθών*, Il. iv. 182, translated by Virgil:

Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat.

2. *finem adferat*] to his mad expenditure.

ὁ . . . ἀνεκτῶς] Il. viii. 355. *Comparet* depends on *μαίνεται*, 'he is mad to give such entertainments.'

cccciϞϞϞ] = HS. decies = 1,000,000 sesterces.

rantiam et ego sustinebo, ut potero, et, tu ut possis, est tuorum nervorum. 3. De motu temporum venientis anni nihil te intellegere volueram domestici timoris, sed de communi rei publicae statu, in quo etiam si nihil procuro, tamen nihil curare vix possum. Quam autem te velim cautum esse in scribendo ex hoc coniecito, quod ego ad te ne haec quidem scribo, quae palam in re publica turbantur, ne cuiusquam animum meae litterae interceptae offendant. Qua re domestica cura te levatum volo: in re publica scio quam sollicitus esse soleas. Video Messallam nostrum consulem, si per interregem, sine iudicio: si per dictatorem, tamen sine periculo. Odii nihil habet. Hortensii calor multum valebit. Gabinii absolutio lex impunitatis putatur. Ἐν παρέργῳ: de dictatore tamen actum adhuc nihil est. Pompeius abest, Appius miscet, Hirrus parat, multi intercessores numerantur, populus non curat principes nolunt, ego quiesco. 4. De mancipiis quod mihi polliceris, valde te amo, et sum equidem, ut scribis, et Romae et in praediis infrequens. Sed cave, amabo, quidquam quod ad

sustinebo] 'will make good'; that is, 'I will endeavour to save him from the effects of his thoughtlessness (shown in this one matter only) by as much pecuniary aid as I can.' This is the explanation of Sch., who also suggests that the passage means, 'I will *restrain* his thoughtlessness as far as I can.' The first explanation seems to me to strain the verb *sustinere*; 'to make good a man's thoughtlessness' is a strange expression if one means 'to protect him from the consequences of it.' The second is not quite consistent with what follows. It would hardly require *nervi*, 'strength of mind,' in Quintus to help Cicero to restrain the recklessness of Milo. The meaning seems to be: 'I will bear his thoughtlessness (shown in this one matter) as well as I can, and it will require your strength of mind to do the same.' *Nervi* is used in a very similar way in Fam. iii. 10, where Cicero, writing to Appius to console him for the prosecution which would cost him his triumph, says: *ego enim plane video nervis opibus sapientia tua vehementer ut inimicos tuos paeniteat intemperantiae suae*, where I would read *fore nervis opus et sapientia tua*, &c. Furthermore, it is quite possible that Cicero may not mean 'his thoughtlessness shown in this one matter only,' though the order of the words naturally suggests this interpretation; but

may mean, 'I will put up with his recklessness, but only in this one matter; afterwards I shall wash my hands of him.' I have before remarked what a characteristic feature of these letters is hyperbaton, such as *de meis ad te rationibus*, Att. i. 2, 1. We are told that Milo spent three fortunes on acts of extravagance like this. Did any one ever hear of a man who had spent two fortunes or four?

3. *si per interregem*] 'if he is created consul by the *interrex* he will escape trial altogether (for he will enter on his office at once); if by the dictator, he will still escape all danger (for he will certainly be acquitted).'

lex impunitatis] 'the acquittal of Gabinius is regarded as a general Amnesty Act.' Cp. Att. iv. 19, 1.

ἔν παρέργῳ] '*en passant*: after all there is nothing done about the dictatorship yet.' ὁδοῦ πάρεργον is the more usual phrase in the letters. *Tamen* often depends on a clause understood, such as here—'though everyone thought that things tended that way.' It may in such cases be rendered 'after all.'

4. *infrequens*] 'short-handed'; that is not well provided with slaves, as *ine frequens aedificiis*, Liv. xxxvii. 32. Thy explanation given by L. S., 'I am rare in Rome and my country places,' seem to me absolutely without meaning.

meum commodum attineat, nisi maximo tuo commodo et maxima tua facultate, mi frater, cogitaris. 5. De epistola Vatini risi. Sed me ab eo ita observari scio, ut eius ista odia non sorbeam solum, sed etiam concoquam. 6. Quod me hortaris, ut absolvam, habeo absolutum suave, mihi quidem uti videtur, ἔπος ad Caesarem, sed quaero locupletem tabellarium, ne accidat quod Erigonae tuae, cui soli Caesare imperatore iter ex Gallia tutum non fuit. 7. **Quid? si caementum bonum non haberem deturbarem aedificium? quod quidem mihi cotidie magis placet, in primisque inferior porticus et eius conclavia . . . fiunt recte. De Arcano, Caesaris opus est vel mehercule etiam elegantioris alicuius. Imagines enim istae et palaestra et piscina et nilus multorum Philotimorum est, non Diphilorum. Sed et ipsi ea adibimus et mittemus et mandabimus. 8. De Felicis testamento tum magis querare, si scias. Quas enim tabulas se putavit obsignare, in quibus † in unciis firmissimum tenes †, eas vero—lapsus est, per errorem et

maximo tuo com. . . . facultate] ‘unless it is quite suitable to your convenience and your means.’

5. *Vatini*] Vatinius had written to Caesar a letter, which Quintus had seen, showing that he was watching every act of Cicero, and reporting them (with, no doubt, unfriendly comments) to Caesar. The meaning of the following words is not clear to me, unless we take *eo* to mean Caesar, or read *illo* = *Caesare*, instead of *eo*, to distinguish it from *eius*, sc. Vatini. The meaning would then be: ‘I am so sure of the esteem in which I am held by Caesar, that I can not only swallow (brook, endure) the hostilities of Vatinius, but even digest them.’ Or, perhaps, there is a play on the two meanings of *observare*, ‘to watch’ and ‘to pay attention to.’ The phrase would then be ironical—‘I am so conscious of the kind attentions of Vatinius to me, that I can,’ &c.

6. *locupletem*] ‘trustworthy,’ ‘responsible,’ like ἐχέγγυος, ἀξίόχρεως.

cui soli] Quintus’ play, *Erigona*, was lost in its transmission from Gaul to Rome.

7. *deturbarem*] ‘was I to pull down the house?’ a rhetorical question. Cp. *ego tibi irascerer?* Q. Fr. i. 3, 1; *his ego iudiciis committerem*, Q. Fr. iii. 4, 2. See also note on Ep. xxvii. 3.

Caesaris opus] ‘a work worthy of Caesar’; that is, as beautiful as the work of Caesar referred to in Att. iv. 16, 14.

nilus] ‘a conduit.’ All these excel-

lent building projects of Quintus demand, he says, many a Philotimus, not a Diphilus, that is, architects like Philotimus, and many of them, not like Diphilus. Cp. for this use of the plural Ep. xcii. § 3, *omnes Catilinas Acidinos postea reddidit*, ‘he made every wretch like Catiline seem henceforth as respectable as Acidinus.’ Philotimus is praised in contrast with Diphilus in Q. Fr. iii. 1, 1–6.

8. *De Felicis testamento*] See on Ep. clviii. § 2.

† *in unciis . . . tenes*] For these corrupt words Wes. would write *in quibus ex iii unciis firmissimum locum tenes*. I would read *in quibus in singulis unciis firmissimum locum tenemus*. I think Cicero and Quintus were both heirs of Felix; otherwise Cicero would not have dismissed the loss of his brother so curtly with the words ἀλλ’ οἰμωζέτω, ‘let it go be-hanged.’ In a passage like this a change of *tenes* to *tenemus* is very slight. The meaning is: ‘the will, in which we both beyond all doubt stand as heirs to one-twelfth of the property each—through a mistake caused by his own negligence and his slave’s—he did not sign; but signed another, which he did not intend to sign.’ For *firm. locum tenere* Wes. compares Brut. 81 (cp. *obtinere locum*, Fam. iii. 9, 2).

For in cp. Fam. xiii. 29, 3, *in sextante*. The palaeographical *sin.* for *singulis* (see Chassant) is very like *in*; hence *singulis* fell out after *in*.

suum et Sicurae servi—non obsignavit: quas noluit, eas obsignavit. 'Ἀλλ' οἰμωζέτω! nos modo valeamus. 9. Ciceronem et ut rogas amo et ut meretur et debeo. Dimitto autem a me, et ut a magistris ne abducam et quod mater †Porcia non† discedit, sine qua edacitatem pueri pertimesco. Sed sumus una tamen valde multum. Rescripsi ad omnia. Mi suavissime et optime frater, vale.

CLXI. FROM CICERO TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 10).

ROME, A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

Iocans carpit M. Cicero C. Trebatium, quod scripserat se Caesari valde iure consultum videri litterasque de eius rebus privatis requirit. Si enim in rebus suis nihil proficiat, male facere, quod non in urbem redeat.

CICERO S. D. TREBATIO.

1. Legi tuas litteras, ex quibus intellexi te Caesari nostro valde iure consultum videri. Est quod gaudeas te in ista loca venisse, ubi aliquid sapere viderere. Quod si in Britanniam quoque profectus esses, profecto nemo in illa tanta insula peritior te fuisset. Verum tamen—rideamus licet: sum enim a te invitatus—subinvideo tibi ultro *te* etiam arcessitum ab eo, ad quem ceteri non

9. † *Porcia non*] The *non* must be wrong, as is shown by the words *sine qua* which follow. Moreover, Pomponia, not Porcia, was the mother of Quintus' son. Hence the earliest edd. gave *Pomponia discedit*. But this is obviously bad criticism, since it does not account for the corruption. The correction of Wes., on the other hand, though it cannot be said to be certain, is quite scientific. He would read *quod mater in Porcianam discedit*, 'because his mother is going to stay with Porcius.' For *Porcianam* = *Porcii domum*, cp. *Autronianam*, Att. i. 13, 6; *Rabirianam*, Att. i. 6, 1; *Annianam*, Att. iv. 3, 3. In these passages *domum* is expressed, but such an ellipse need not

surprise us in Cicero's letters. *Porcianam* without *domum* would have misled the copyist into writing *Porcia non*, which is, of course, quite corrupt.

1. *iure consultum*] 'very learned in the law.' The word must not be written *iureconsultum*, which would require an adjective, instead of *valde*. Caesar had probably summoned Trebatius as an assessor on some trial, as would appear from the phrase *ultro te etiam arcessitum ab eo*; though possibly Cicero only means, Caesar has not had much opportunity of judging of your merits as a soldier, though no doubt he rates highly your qualities as a lawyer. *aliquid sapere*] See on Ep. clvii. § 1.

propter superbiam eius, sed propter occupationem aspirare non possunt. 2. Sed tu in ista epistola nihil mihi scripsisti de tuis rebus, quae mehercule mihi non minori curae sunt quam meae. Valde metuo ne frigeas in hibernis: quam ob rem camino luculento utendum censeo: idem Mucio et Manilio placebat, praesertim qui sagis non abundares. Quamquam vos nunc istic satis calere audio: quo quidem nuntio valde mehercule de te timueram. Sed tu in re militari multo es cautior quam in advocationibus, qui neque in Oceano natare volueris, studiosissimus homo natandi, neque spectare essedarios, quem antea ne andabatam quidem defraudare poteramus. Sed iam satis iocati sumus. 3. Ego de te ad Caesarem quam diligenter scripserim, tute scis: quam saepe, ego. Sed mehercule iam intermiseram, ne viderer liberalissimi hominis meique amantissimi voluntati erga me diffidere. Sed tamen iis litteris, quas proxime dedi, putavi esse hominem commo-
nendum. Id feci. Quid profecerim facias me velim certiore

2. *frigeas*] It seems probable that *frigeas* is here used in its metaphorical sense of 'having nothing to do.' Cicero then passes to the literal meaning of *frigeas*, and says: 'you ought to keep your hearth blazing.' *Calere* in the next sentence is certainly metaphorical—'though you are so frozen out in your winter quarters, yet I hear you have hot work over there' alluding to the Gallic rising under Ambiorix (Caes. B. G. v. 26). v 3

abundares] This word must depend on the clause *idem . . . placebat*, else the present tense must have been used; hence I have slightly changed the usual punctuation, which makes *idem . . . placebat* parenthetical: this meaning is, 'this was the counsel's opinion of these celebrated jurists, Mucius and Manilius, especially for one who, like you, has not a sufficient campaigning kit.' The only trace of humour is the appealing to the *responsa prudentium*, to confirm such a very obvious truth, that if you are cold you ought to keep a good fire. Probably Trebatius did not provide himself largely with military equipments, not intending really to take part in the campaign. We read above (Fam. viii. 1) that he refused the post of *tribunus militum*. The regular phrase for 'taking the field' was *saga sumere*. Perhaps Cicero wishes to hint that Trebatius was not very eager for

this. But we must not look for too much point in jests which were dictated perhaps by a momentary access of high spirits, and which were not intended for anyone but his correspondent. Cicero himself says: *multa ioca solent esse in epistolis quae prolata si sint inepta esse videantur*, Phil. ii. 7. It appears from Att. v. 5, 1, that Cicero regarded joking as one of the ordinary ingredients of a letter—*plane deest quod scribam: nam nec quod mandem habeo . . . nec quod narrem . . . nec iocandi locus est, ita multa me sollicitant*.

cautior] 'but though you are a very safe opinion at the bar, you are a much safer campaigner, seeing that you would not cross the water to Britain, fond as you are of the water, and would not have a look at the British charioteers, though in Rome we could not cheat you out of a single gladiatorial show, however low.' We read (Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 8) that Trebatius recommends swimming as a corrective of a tendency to write verses. Trebatius seems to have been devoted to those sports of the amphitheatre which Cicero found so dull. The *andabata* fought blindfold (probably mounted, too; hence suggested here by *essedarii*) for the amusement of the lowest class of spectators. For *defraudare* with accusatives the commentators quote *aes defraudasse cauponem*, Varr. ap. Non. 25, 1.

et simul de toto statu tuo consiliisque omnibus. Scire enim cupio quid agas, quid exspectes, quam longum istum tuum discessum a nobis futurum putes. 4. Sic enim tibi persuadeas velim, unum mihi esse solacium, qua re facilius possim pati te esse sine nobis, si tibi esse id emolumento sciam: sin autem id non est, nihil duobus nobis est stultius: me, qui te non Romam attraham, te, qui non huc advoles. Una mehercule nostra vel severa vel iocosa congressio pluris erit quam non modo hostes, sed etiam fratres nostri Haedui. Qua re omnibus de rebus fac ut quam primum sciam:

aut consolando aut consilio aut re iuvero.

CLXII. FROM CICERO TO L. VALERIUS (FAM. I. 20).

A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

Iocose significat L. Valerio iure consulto se eius nomine P. Lentulo gratias egisse, eumque ut domum redeat hortatur.

M. CICERO S. D. L. VALERIO IURIS CONSULTO.

Cur enim tibi hoc non gratificer nescio, praesertim cum his temporibus audacia pro sapientia liceat uti. Lentulo nostro egi per litteras tuo nomine gratias diligenter. Sed tu velim desinas iam nostris litteris uti et nos aliquando revisas et ibi malis esse ubi aliquo numero sis, quam istic ubi solus sapere videare. Quamquam qui istinc veniunt, partim te superbum esse dicunt, quod

4. *una . . . Haedui*] ‘one hour’s talk, grave or gay, will be of more importance to us than all the foes in Gaul—aye, and our “right trusty brothers,” the Haedui to boot.’ He hints a disparagement of the Haedui, who were called *fratres consanguineique* by the Roman senate (Caes. B. G. i. 33). A comparison of this passage with Fam. vii. 11, 2, *una mehercule collocutio nostra pluris erit quam omnes Samarobrivaë*, shows that there is no double meaning in *congressio* here.

aut . . . iuvero] Ter. Heaut. i. 1, 34.

cur enim] This is one of those letters in which the meaning of the first sentence depends on the superscribed address. The others are Att. iii. 20; Fam. vii. 29; Fam. xvi. 18.

sapientia] Cicero has again recourse to the threadbare play on *sapientia* in its wide sense, and in its restricted application to the profession of a jurisconsult. So again in *solus sapere*.

nihil respondeas, partim contumeliosum, quod male respondeas. Sed iam cupio tecum coram iocari. Qua re fac ut quam primum venias neque in Apuliam tuam accedas, ut possimus saluum venisse gaudere. Nam illo si veneris, tamquam Ulixes cognoscere tuorum nemini.

CLXIII. FROM CICERO TO CURIUS (FAM. XIII. 49).

A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Curio procos. commendat Q. Pompeium.

CICERO CURIO PROCOS.

Q. Pompeius Sext. F. multis et veteribus causis necessitudinis mihi coniunctus est. Is, cum antea meis commendationibus et rem et gratiam et auctoritatem suam tueri consuerit, nunc profecto te provinciam obtinente meis litteris adsequi debet, ut nemini se intellegat commendatiorem umquam fuisse. Quam ob rem a te maiorem in modum peto, ut, cum omnes meos aequae ac tuos observare pro necessitudine nostra debeas, hunc in primis ita in tuam fidem recipias, ut ipse intellegat nullam rem sibi maiori usui aut ornameto quam meam commendationem esse potuisse. Vale.

nihil . . . respondeas] *Respondere* has in law a technical sense (found also in the phrase *responsa prudentium*, 'counsel's opinions'), 'to give an authoritative opinion on a law point.' Valerius would have no clients in Cilicia, where he now was. In the other sense *respondere* would read 'to give a reply when addressed.' Hence *nihil respondere* would be a mark of arrogance. The play in *quod male respondeas* seems rather impolite. *Male respondere* in one sense would be 'to answer abusively'; hence he is called *contumeliosus*; but, in the other sense, it would mean 'to give bad, unsound opinions on legal questions.' This must be the sense in which the word is here applied to Valerius. We may infer from

an expression in a letter to Appius (Fam. iii. 1, 3), that Cicero had not a high opinion of the professional capacity of Valerius, though he valued him highly as a friend. Cp. Fam. vii. 16, and the letters to Trebatius.

illo si veneris] 'if you come back to Apulia, your return to Rome will be so long delayed, that none of your friends will know you.' I have given Klotz' simple correction of the ms reading *cognosces tuorum neminem*. Ulysses did know his friends, but was not recognized by them for some time. If we accept the ms reading, we must suppose Cicero to have made a much greater slip here than in De Div. ii. 63, or Tusc. iv. 49.

CLXIV. FROM CICERO TO C. MUNATIUS

(FAM. XIII. 60).

A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero L. Livineium Tryphonem C. Munatio commendat.

M. CICERO C. MUNATIO C. F. S.

1. L. Livineius Trypho est omnino L. Reguli familiarissimi mei libertus: cuius calamitas etiam officiosiore me facit in illum: nam benevolentior quam semper fui esse non possum. Sed ego libertum eius per se ipsum diligo: summa enim eius erga me officia exstiterunt iis nostris temporibus, quibus facillime [bonam] benevolentiam hominum et fidem perspicere potui. 2. Eum tibi ita commendo, ut homines grati et memores bene meritos de se commendare debent. Pergratum mihi feceris, si ille intellexerit se, quod pro salute mea multa pericula adierit, saepe hieme summa navigarit, pro tua erga me benevolentia gratum etiam tibi fecisse.

1. L. Livineius] See Att. iii. 17, 1, *Livineius L. Reguli libertus ad me a Regulo missus venit.*

omnino] 'at all events'; that is, in any case I should feel an interest in him as the freedman of Regulus, but, in addition to this, I esteem Livineius for himself.

calamitas] probably 'exile,' a common meaning of *calamitas*.

iis nostris temporibus quibus] 'that

crisis in my life when'; the phrase *iis nostris temporibus* must be closely taken with *quibus*. Taken by themselves, these words would refer to the period of Cicero's consulate, and his subsequent paramount influence, defined particularly in Fam. i. 9, 12.

[bonam] is certainly wrong; *ben.* and *fidem* are found together, without any epithet for either, Fam. xiii. 69, 1; xv. 4, 5.

CLXV. FROM CICERO TO PHILIPPUS

(FAM. XIII. 73).

ROME, A. U. C. 700 ; B. C. 54 ; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. Philippum salvum ex provincia redisse gaudet, Egnatii et Oppii causa gratias agit, ut Antipatri filios sibi condonet, rogat.

M. CICERO Q. PHILIPPO PROCOS. S.

1. Gratulor tibi, quod ex provincia salvum te ad tuos recepisti, incolumi fama et re publica. Quod si Romae te vidissem coramque gratias egissem quod tibi L. Egnatius familiarissimus meus absens, L. Oppius praesens curae fuisset. 2. Cum Antipatro Derbete mihi non solum hospitium, verum etiam summa familiaritas intercedit. Ei te vehementer suscensuisse audivi et moleste tuli. De re nihil possum iudicare, nisi illud mihi persuadeo, te, talem virum, nihil temere fecisse. A te autem pro vetere nostra necessitudine etiam atque etiam peto, ut eius filios, qui in tua potestate sunt, mihi potissimum condones, nisi quid existimas in ea re violari existimationem tuam. Quod ego si arbitrarer, numquam te rogarem, mihi que tua fama multo antiquior esset, quam illa necessitudo est. Sed mihi ita persuadeo—potest fieri ut fallar—, eam rem laudi tibi potius quam vituperationi fore. Quid fieri possit et quid mea causa facere possis—nam quin velis non dubito—, velim, si tibi grave non erit, certio rem me facias.

1. *Quod si Romae . . .*] We cannot read with the ms *quod si Romae te vidissem*, unless we are bold enough to erase the title PROCOS at the head of the letter. He could not have entered Rome without forfeiting the title. Doubtless he had joined his friends in some other part of Italy. Probably Cicero wrote *quod si Romae fuisses*, or *esse potuisses*.

L. Egnatius] doubtless a negotiator, or banker, in the province of Philippus: so also L. Oppius: the latter was befriended by Philippus personally when in his province (*praesens*); the latter by a letter, or through the agency of others (*absens*).

2. *Antipatro Derbete*] an unknown Greek of Derbe, in Lycaonia.

nisi] 'yet still.' *Quod* is inserted by Ern. and most edd. But we have here a characteristic colloquialism common in comedy. For this elliptico-adversative use of *nisi*, cp. *nisi mirumst facinus*, 'yet still it is a wonder,' Pl. Mil. 377 (ii. 4, 24): see also Trin. ii. 1, 8; Rud. iii. 4, 45. Cicero has the phrase even in a speech, *nescio: nisi hoc video*, Rosc. Am. 99. A good instance is in Pl. Mil. i. 1, 24, *nisi unum: epityrum illi estur insanum bene*, 'yet still there is one thing—his olive salad eats à ravir.'

LETTERS OF THE SIXTEENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. CLXVI.-CLXXVII.

A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

COSS. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS, M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.

THERE is during this year no letter to Atticus, who was, doubtless, now in Rome. Cicero's chief correspondents were the younger Curio and Trebatius. The year opened with a series of *interregna*. It was signalized by the defeat and death of Crassus. And in Gaul the army of Caesar was very hard pressed. We cannot read the fifth and sixth books of Caesar's Gallic War without being reminded of the extremities to which the British troops were brought in the Zulu War. The gallant resistance of the legion under Q. Cicero, in the territory of the Nervii, furnishes an interesting parallel to Rorke's Drift. Cicero was chosen this year to fill the place in the body of augurs which was rendered vacant by the death of Publius Crassus, the son of the triumvir, who fell at Carrhae.

CLXVI. TO C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO, IN ASIA

(FAM. II. 1).

ROME, A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

A C. Curione propter negligentiam litterarum accusatus se excusat, quod absens summam laudem consecutus sit, gratulatur, adhortaturque ut exspectationi, quam de se excitaverit, omni modo satis faciat.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

1. Quamquam me negligentiae nomine suspectum tibi esse doleo, tamen non tam mihi molestum fuit accusari abs te officium meum quam iucundum requiri, praesertim cum in quo accusabar culpa vacarem, in quo autem desiderare te significabas meas litteras

This is the first of Cicero's letters to C. Scribonius Curio. He was now quaestor to C. Clodius in Asia. Cicero's correspondence with him is highly interesting as showing the influence which the great orator exercised over the young men of his time. Curio was a young noble of great spirit and promise—a kind of Roman Alcibiades. He came of a family of orators. Pliny (N. H. vii. 4) writes of *una familia Curionum in qua tres continua serie oratores exstiterunt*. Cicero says of the father of his present correspondent, that he was an orator, *usu, credo, aliquo domestico, nam litterarum admodum nihil sciebat* (Brut. 210). The present correspondent was at first the great hope of the optimate party. Cicero says of him (Att. ii. 18, 1), *unus loquitur et palam adversatur adulescens Curio*, and goes on to declare how popular the young rake was with the *boni*. When Caesar paid his debts, and gained him over to his side, he had no more devoted adherent than young Curio. His profligacy (for which Cicero himself nicknames him *filiola Curionis*) was conspicuous. Yet Cicero, it will be observed, addresses him in the language of esteem and affection. It is of him that Lucan, iv. 814, writes :

'Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma,
Aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti.'

And he is the subject of the oft-quoted verse of the same poet :

'Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum.'

For a very spirited notice of Curio, in which he is called *ingeniosissime nequam*, see Vell. Pat. ii. 48. He died in an engagement with the troops of Juba and P. Attius Varus, in Africa.

1. *nomine*] 'on account of.' So we have *eo nomine sum Dyrrachii ut . . . audiam*, 'on this account, that I may hear,' Fam. xiv. 3, 4; cp. Fam. iv. 5, 5. In Fam. ii. 3, 1, *tuo nomine* means 'in your name,' in the sense of 'as coming from you.'

officium] 'I was not so much annoyed that any failure in my duty to you was charged against me, as pleased that it was missed.' His *officium* was to write. Here *officium* stands for 'failure in duty,' on the principle commented on at Ep. i. 3, where *missione* is vindicated against the conjecture *intermissione*. A good example in Greek is *ἐὺχωλῆς ἐπιμέμφεται ἡ ἐκατόμβης*, Il. i. 65.

in quo] 'in so far as' will render *in quo* in both places.

prae te ferres perspectum mihi quidem, sed tamen dulcem et optatum amorem tuum. Equidem neminem praetermisi, quem quidem ad te perventurum putarem, cui litteras non dederim. Etenim quis est tam scribendo impiger quam ego? A te vero bis terve summum et eas perbreves accepi. Qua re si iniquus es in me iudex, condemnabo eodem ego te crimine: sin me id facere noles, te mihi aequum praebere debebis. Sed de litteris hactenus: non enim vereor ne non scribendo te expleam, praesertim si in eo genere studium meum non aspernabere. 2. Ego te afuisse tam diu a nobis et dolui, quod carui fructu iucundissimae consuetudinis, et laetor, quod absens omnia cum maxima dignitate es consecutus quodque in omnibus tuis rebus meis optatis fortuna respondit. Breve est quod me tibi praecipere meus incredibilis in te amor cogit. Tanta est exspectatio vel animi vel ingenii tui, ut ego te obsecrare obtestarique non dubitem, sic ad nos conformatus revertare, ut quam expectationem tui concitasti, hanc sustinere ac tueri possis. Et quoniam meam tuorum erga me meritorum memoriam nulla umquam delebit oblivio, te rogo, ut memineris, quantaecumque tibi accessiones fient et fortunae et dignitatis, eas te non potuisse consequi, ni meis puer olim fidelissimis atque amantissimis consiliis paruisses. Qua re hoc animo in nos esse debebis, ut aetas nostra iam ingravescent in amore atque in adolescentia tua conquiescat.

prae te ferres] *ferres*, of course, depends on *cum*.

praetermisi] 'I never let any one pass without giving him a letter for you.' Cp. *neminem praetermiserit*, Fam. xi. 21, 1. The expression would be inaccurate if *praetermisi* was here rendered 'passed over.' 'I never passed over any one without giving him a letter' is inaccurate, for if he was given a letter he was not passed over.

bis terve] 'twice, or at most thrice'; *bis terque* is 'twice or thrice at least' (Ep. clix. 6).

iniquus] 'harsh,' not 'unfair'; *aequus* is 'favourably disposed.' 'lenient,' not 'just,' 'impartial.'

ne non scribendo] 'I have no fear that I shall not thoroughly satisfy you with

my regularity as a correspondent, especially if I find that my energy in that direction is looked on by you with favour' (is taken as a proof of my friendship). *Non* and *expleam* are to be taken together.

2. *animi vel ingenii*] 'shall I say of your spirit or your abilities.' The same antithesis occurs again in Fam. x. 28, 2, *senatum . . . revocavi magis animi quam ingenii viribus*.

obtestari . . . revertare] The omission of *ut* before the subjunctive *revertare* is characteristic of the letters and of the comic drama. See my note on *Miles*, Arg. i. 11, and Draeger, *Hist. Synt.*, vol. ii. pp. 275-283, § 409.

meritorum] in his struggles with Clodius, and in his restoration from exile.

paruisses] See Phil. ii. §§ 45, 46.

CLXVII. TO TREBATIUS, IN THE CAMP OF CAESAR

(FAM. VII. 11).

ROME, A. U. C. 701 ; B. C. 53 ; AET. CIC. 53.

M. Cicero iocatur cum C. Trebatio de interregnis, suadet, ut, si e re sua sit, maneat in provincia : sin minus, se in urbem recipiat.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Nisi ante Roma profectus esses, nunc eam certe relinques. Quis enim tot interregnis iure consultum desiderat? Ego omnibus, unde petitur, hoc consilii dederim, ut a singulis interregibus binas advocaciones postulent. Satisne tibi videor abs te ius civile didicisse? 2. Sed heus tu, quid agis? ecquid fit? Video enim te iam iocari per litteras. Haec signa meliora sunt quam in meo Tusculano. Sed quid sit scire cupio. Consuli quidem te a Caesare

1. *tot interregnis*] The whole of this frigid jesting turns on the nature of the office of the *interrex*, for which see Class. Dict. The business of the law courts was intermitted during the *interregnum*; each *interrex* was chosen only for five days; on the expiration of five days a new *interrex* was appointed. The jocular counsel which Cicero gives to all defendants in civil actions (*omnibus unde petitur*) is to ask from each *interrex* two of the periods allowed for seeking legal assistance (*binas advocaciones*). The defendant could thus postpone his day of trial for an indefinite term. Cicero asks: 'Does not this counsel of mine show that I have profited by my friendship with you in civil procedure?'

2. *signa*] Cicero welcomes in his friend's letters a tendency to be jocular. He says: 'these signs (*signa*) of reviving spirits in you are better than the statues (*signa*) in my Tusculanum.' The play is on the two meanings of *signa*, 'signs' and 'statues.' I do not see how the play could be reproduced in English. We learn from Ep. cxxvi. § 2 (Fam.

vii. 23), that Fadius Gallus had bought for Cicero some statues (*signa*), for which Cicero did not at all care. He probably refers here to this unlucky purchase. He says: 'I like the look of your last letter, with its bantering tone, far better than I like the look of those statues which Fadius Gallus bought for me.' He had perhaps already told Trebatius how he was disappointed with the purchases of Fadius Gallus.

consuli] Cicero welcomes the sportive tone of his friend's letter, but he wants to know what is the source of his pleasant state of mind. 'You tell me,' he writes, 'that Caesar has consulted your judgment: I had far rather he had consulted your interests. If you think the latter is so (or that there is any chance of it) don't shirk the campaigning: stay on. I can console myself for my separation from you by the prospect of your advancement. But if it (your advancement) is all in the clouds, come back to me. Something must turn up here some time; or, if not, I declare I think one hour's talk between us will be worth all the Samarobrivas in

scribis, sed ego tibi ab illo consuli mallet. Quod si aut fit aut futurum putas, perfer istam militiam et permane: ego enim desiderium tui spe tuorum commodorum consolabor: sin autem ista sunt inaniora, recipe te ad nos. Nam aut erit hic aliquid aliquando aut, si minus, una mehercule collocutio nostra pluris erit quam omnes Samarobrivae. Denique, si cito te rettuleris, sermo nullus erit: si diutius frustra afueris, non modo Laberium, sed etiam sodalem nostrum Valerium pertimesco. Mira enim persona induci potest Britannici consulti. 3. Haec ego non rideo, quamvis tu rideas, sed de re severissima tecum, ut soleo, iocor. Remoto ioco tibi hoc amicissimo animo praecipio, ut, si istic mea commendatione tuam dignitatem obtinebis, perferas nostri desiderium, honestatem et facultates tuas augeas: sin autem ista frigeant, recipias te ad nos. Omnia tamen quae vis et tua virtute profecto et nostro summo erga te studio consequere.

the world.' We have frequently met the plural thus used in the case of persons, as, for instance, *omnes Catilinas Acidinos postea reddidit*, Ep. xcii. § 3, 'he made every ruffian like Catiline seem thenceforth as respectable as an Acidinus.' But I do not know of any precise parallel to *omnes Samarobrivae*, 'every town such as Samarobriva.' Draeger does not give examples of the latter usage (Hist. Synt. I², p. 9, § 6).

si cito te rettuleris] His final advice is: 'if you come back soon there will be no comment; but if you are long away, and to no purpose, I fear Laberius will introduce you into a farce. He will get his

points from our friend Valerius, the jurisconsult, and he will have in you a splendid character—the lawyer in Britain.' Valerius is the jurisconsult to whom Cicero has already written, and who is mentioned again Fam. iii. 1, 3. Laberius, the celebrated writer of *mimi*, is another of those persons who are mentioned alike in Horace's satires and Cicero's letters.

3. *remoto ioco*] 'jesting apart.' This would seem very un-Ciceronian Latin, if we had not here Ciceronian warrant for it. So would *magna in spe sum*, 'I am in great hopes,' Att. vi. 2, 6. How many examiners would accept either phrase in a Latin composition?

CLXVIII. FROM CICERO, IN ROME, TO CURIO, IN ASIA

(FAM. II. 2).

A. U. C. 701 ; B. C. 53 ; AET. CIC. 53.

C. Curioni post patris obitum omnia bona quasi parentis loco cupit.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

Gravi teste privatus sum amoris summi erga te mei, patre tuo, clarissimo viro : qui cum suis laudibus tum vero te filio superasset omnium fortunam, si ei contigisset ut te ante videret quam a vita discederet. Sed spero nostram amicitiam non egere testibus. Tibi patrimonium dei fortunent ! Me certe habebis cui et carus aequis et iucundus ac fuisti patri.

CLXIX. FROM CICERO, IN ROME, TO CURIO, IN ASIA

(FAM. II. 3).

A. U. C. 701 ; B. C. 53 ; AET. CIC. 53.

C. Curioni Rupam libertum excusat, quod in patris funere ludos populo Romano non promiserit, et de his muneribus quid sentiat aperit.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

1. Rupae studium non defuit declarandorum munerum tuo nomine, sed nec mihi placuit nec cuiquam tuorum quidquam te

patre tuo] The elder Curio had just died.
te filio] 'with you as his son.' For this *ablativus modi*, see note on Ep. cxxxi. § 4.

Curio's. Acting on the advice of Cicero and other friends of Curio, he had refrained from promising the people public spectacles on the occasion of the death of the senior Curio. Cicero, in this letter, takes the responsibility on himself.

1. *Rupa*] Rupa was a freedman of

absente fieri quod tibi, cum venisses, non esset integrum. Equidem meam sententiam aut scribam ad te postea pluribus aut, ne ad eam meditare, imparatum te offendam coramque contra istam rationem meam dicam, ut aut te in meam sententiam adducam aut certe testatum apud animum tuum relinquam quid senserim, ut, si quando—quod nolim—displicere tibi tuum consilium coeperit, possis meum recordari. Brevi tamen sic habeto, in eum statum temporum tuum reditum incidere, ut iis bonis, quae tibi natura, studio, fortuna data sunt, facilius omnia, quae sunt amplissima in re publica, consequi possis quam muneribus, quorum neque facultatem quisquam admiratur—est enim copiarum, non virtutis—neque quisquam est quin satietate iam defessus sit. 2. Sed aliter atque ostenderam facio, qui ingrediar ad explicandam rationem sententiae meae. Qua re omnem hanc disputationem in adventum tuum differo. Summa scito in expectatione te esse eaque a te exspectari, quae a summa virtute summoque ingenio exspectanda sunt: ad quae si es, ut debes, paratus—quod ita esse confido—plurimis maximisque muneribus et nos amicos et cives tuos universos et rem publicam adicies. Illud cognosces profecto, mihi te neque cariorum neque iucundiorum esse quemquam.

quod tibi . . . non esset integrum] ‘which should bind you to any step on your return,’ ‘which should not leave you free to decide for yourself on your return.’

ne ad eam meditare] Cicero says: ‘either I shall write you a longer letter, setting forth my reasons for not recommending you to promise public spectacles; or [I will not write, but] to give you no chance of thinking over answers to my objections, I will take you unprepared, and in a personal interview will set forth my case.’

displicere] Curio had good reason to regret that he did not adopt Cicero’s advice. The spectacles which he gave involved him in such difficulties as finally

induced him to sell himself to the side of Caesar.

quorum . . . facultatem] ‘the capacity to give which no one admires, as it depends on money, not on any high personal quality.’

2. *aliter atque ostenderam*] In the beginning of the letter, where he had said he would reserve his reasons for a future letter, or a personal interview.

in expectatione] ‘that your arrival is eagerly looked forward to.’ For this *passive* use of *expectatio*, cp. *maxima expectatione . . . nos venisse scito*, Att. v. 16, 2; *cum res in summa expectatione esset*, Att. viii. 11 D, 3.

muneribus] ‘you will give us something better for us to see than any show.’

CLXX. TO TREBATIUS, IN GAUL (FAM. VII. 12).

A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

Per iocum exagitat M. Cicero Epicureos ipsumque adeo Trebatium, quem Epicureum esse factum narraverat Pansa.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Mirabar quid esset quod tu mihi litteras mittere intermississes. Indicavit mihi Pansa meus Epicureum te esse factum. O castra praeclara! Quid tu fecisses, si te Tarentum et non Samarobrivam misissem? Iam tum mihi non placebas, cum idem tu

O castra praeclara] ‘what a wonderful military camp that must be of yours’; for the hardships of a military camp were not likely to engender Epicurean principles. In consideration of the next clause, this seems a better sense than to interpret: ‘that is a fine camp to take your stand in,’ i.e. ‘a fine philosophical system to range yourself as a supporter of.’

Tarentum] For the charms of this, the chief of winter resorts, compare the well-known passage in Horace, Odes, ii. 6, *Ille terrarum*, &c.; also Seneca, *Tranquil. Animi*, 2, 13, add Friedländer, ii. 96.

Iam tum] ‘Even then, when you were holding the same tenets as my friend Selius, I did not approve of you.’ Klotz reads *Selius* for *Zeius*, *Seius*, &c. of the mss, without giving reasons. Perhaps the reasons are as follows:—This is plainly a reference to some philosophical views which were more akin to Cicero’s own tenets than the Epicurean, but yet did not wholly please him. In point of ethics, it may have been the New Academy; their doctrine, that probability, not certainty, is all that mankind can arrive at, deprives morals of that firm foundation and immutability which Cicero desired. Let me quote at length a passage from the *De Legibus*, i. 39: *Sibi autem indulgentes et corpori deservientes atque omnia quae*

*sequantur in vita, quaeque fugiant voluptatibus et doloribus ponderantes, etiam si vera dicunt (nihil enim opus est hoc loco litibus) in hortulis suis iubeamus dicere, atque etiam ab omni societate reipublicae cuius partem nec norunt ullam nec umquam nosse voluerunt, paullisper facessant, rogemus. Perturbatricem autem harum omnium rerum Academiam, hanc ab Arcesila et Carneade recentem, exoremus ut sileat. Nam si invaserit in haec, quae satis scite nobis instructa et composita videtur, nimias edet ruinas. Quam quidem ego placare cupio, submovere non audeo. Here Epicurean ethics are wholly condemned; Academic ethics condemned indeed, but in a less degree. Now, if we compare Acad. 2, 11, nam aderant familiares mei (Lucullus is speaking) docti homines P. et C. *Selii* et Tetrilius Rogus qui se illa audivisse Romae de Philone et ab ipso duos libros dicerent descripsisse, we see that two members of the Selian family were followers of Philo; and however reactionary these ‘two books’ may have been, there is little doubt that ‘in the public lectures which Cicero heard Philo gave expression to that brilliant and negative criticism that he had inherited from Carneades, leaving reactionary doctrines for private conversation and his written books’ (Reid, *Academ.*, *Introductio* p. 60).*

tuebare quod Silius familiaris meus. 2. Sed quonam modo ius civile defendes, cum omnia tua causa facias, non civium? Ubi porro illa erit formula fiducia, UT INTER BONOS BENE AGIER OPORTET? Quis enim *bonus* est, qui facit nihil nisi sua causa? Quod ius statues COMMUNI DIVIDENDO, cum commune nihil possit esse apud eos, qui omnia voluptate sua metiuntur? Quo modo autem tibi placebit IOVEM LAPIDEM iurare, cum scias Iovem iratum

sed quonam modo] Cicero goes on to rally Trebatius as to how his occupation will be gone if he becomes an Epicurean. The Epicureans held that 'in the sphere of morals individual feeling must be made the standard, and individual well-being the object of all human activity' (Zeller, Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics, Eng. Trans., p. 445, and the references), and that 'pleasure is the only unconditional good' (*ib.* p. 446). How then will Trebatius be able to use the legal formula in actions against trustees about honest dealing amongst honest men? for the honest man (*bonus*) is he who regards the fair claims of *others* than himself. And similarly, how will Trebatius see to the fair division of a joint property? Further, if Trebatius is a Fictilis, how will he be able to swear by Jupiter, the stone, and ask this fine old god to cast him forth from his fatherland if he perjures himself, seeing that the Epicureans *know* all about the gods—how that they were 'perfectly free from care and trouble, and absolutely regardless of the world' (Zeller, p. 441); in fact, 'a society of Epicurean philosophers' (*ib.* p. 442), to whom caring for others outside their own circle, and mixing in civil society or in political life was regarded as a necessary evil, and only to be practised 'as far as it is necessary for the philosopher's own safety' (Zeller, p. 463; cf. the sixth *κυρία δόξα* in Diog. Laert. x. 142). What, then, will become of the poor inhabitants of Ulubrae, if Trebatius ceases to be their *patronus*, and lend them his disinterested aid?

formula fiducia] If a man transferred his property to another, on condition that it should be restored to him, this contract was called Fiducia. If the trustee refused to surrender it, he was liable to an *actio fiducia*, which was an *actio bonae fidei*. In the *actiones stricti iuris* the praetor expressed in precise, curt, and strict terms (*directum asperum simplex*, Rosc. Com. 11) the matter submitted to

the judge, whose authority was thus circumscribed. In the *actiones bonae fidei* (Top. 66, an important passage) more indulgence and latitude (*mite moderatum*) was given by the formula of the praetor, and the whole circumstances of the case were taken into consideration, in order to come to an equitable decision. The terms in the formula were *Quantum aequius melius, id dari, or ut inter bonos bene agier oportet*, or *ex fide bona*: Gaius iv. 47, 50, 62, and Poste on § 45.

quis enim bonus est qui] *bonus* is wanting in MH. Manutius had already added *bonus*, but after *est*. Orelli wished to omit *est*, which might readily have got inserted after *enim* by dittographia, and to understand *bonus* out of *bonos*. This is no doubt hard; so we had better acquiesce in Wesenberg's reading, which inserts *bonus* before *est*. Words often get dropped out, owing to the proximity of a similar word.

communi dividundo] This was an action for dividing the property of partners. It was one of the three actions—*familiae eriscundae*, 'for dividing a family inheritance,' and *finium rogandorum* being the other two—which the judge 'adjudicated.' See Justinian, Instit. iv. 17, 5, and Sandars ad loc. and Introd., § 103; also a clear article by Long in Dict. Antiqu. p. 341. Cicero seems to imply (of course with but a bare semblance of accuracy) that the individualistic hedonism, as it is called, of the Epicureans cannot co-exist with any sort of partnership.

Iovem lapidem iurare] For *iurare* with the simple acc. see Virg., Aen. 12, 197, Haec eadem, Aenea, terram mare sidera iuro; also Juv. 3, 144, iures licet et Samothracum et nostrorum aras. This oath was in accordance with 'a very old Roman rite' (Apul. De deo Socrat. 5). The locus classicus is Polybius, iii. 25, of the treaty with Carthage, 475 (= b.c. 279): τὸν δὲ ὄρκον ὁμνύειν ἔδει τοιοῦτον, ἐπὶ μὲρ

esse nemini posse? Quid fiet porro populo Ulubrano, si tu statueris πολιτεύεσθαι non oportere? Qua re si plane a nobis deficiis moleste fero: sin Pansae adsentari commodum est, ignosco. Modo scribe aliquando ad nos quid agas et a nobis quid fieri aut curari velis.

τῶν πρώτων συνθηκῶν Καρχηδονίους μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς πατρώους Ῥωμαίους δὲ Δία λίθον κατὰ τι παλαιὸν ἔθος, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων τὸν Ἄρην καὶ τὸν Ἐννάλιον. ἔστι δὲ τὸ Δία λίθον τοιοῦτον. λαβὼν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα λίθον ὁ ποιούμενος τὰ ὕρκια περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἐπειδὴν ὁμῶς δημοσίᾳ πίστει λέγει τάδε. ‘εὐορκούντι μὲν ποιεῖν τὰ γαθὰ· εἰ δ’ ἄλλως διανοηθεῖν τι ἢ πράξαιμι πάντων τῶν ἄλλων σφζομένων ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις πατρίσιν, ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων βίων ἱερῶν τάφων, ἐγὼ μόνος ἐκπέσοιμι οὕτως ὥς ὕδε λίθος νῦν.’ καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ῥίπτει τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς χειρός. The stone was a flint, symbolical, no doubt, of the thunderbolt. We may compare ‘the all-dreaded thunder-stone’ in *Cymbeline*, and hear Chapman speak out loud and bold, when he renders ἔλπερ μοι καὶ μοῖρα Διὸς πληγέντι κεραυνῷ κείσθαι ὁμοῦ νεκύεσσι μεθ’ αἵματι καὶ κονίησιν (Il. 15, 117) by ‘though I sink beneath the fate of being shot to hell by Jove’s fell thunder-stone,’ a translation not altogether unworthy of Homer. This stone was one of the symbols used by the Fetiales, which, with the *sceptrum*, used to be kept in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius; cf. Fest. p. 92: Feretrius Iupiter . . . ex cuius templo sumebant sceptrum per quod iurarent et lapidem silicem quo foedus ferirent. The *sceptrum* was the peculiar mark of Jupiter; and so the Fetialis became on the occasion of the solemnity symbolically a Jupiter; cf. Servius on Aen. 12, 206 (Audiat haec genitor qui foedera fulmine sancit), where he says: Ut autem sceptrum adhibeatur ad foedera haec ratio est quia maiores semper simulacrum Iovis adhibebant: quod cum taediosum esset—inventum est ut sceptrum tenentes quasi imaginem simulacri redderent Iovis. Sceptrum enim ipsius est proprium. Grimm (Deutsche Mythologie, p. 163–4, ed. 1844) tells of the flint of the German god Donar, and the Mjölnir, or hammer, of Thor. ‘Hammer’ is connected philologically with

ἄκμων (Curt. G. E. No. 3), which itself means a thunderbolt (χάλκεος ἄκμων οὐρανὸθεν κατιών, Hesiod, Theog. 722). Compare generally on Jupiter Lapis Preller, Röm. Myth. p. 220, and Marquardt, iii. 408–9, who agree more or less with the above. Another interpretation is, however, given by Rudorff (Röm. Feldmesser, ii. 242), viz., that Jupiter Lapis is the god who watches over boundary stones (termini silicei); and Jupiter (according to the Etruscan Vegoia Arruns Veltymnus), as this guardian pours down many and varied woes on those who remove their neighbour’s landmarks (Grom. Vet. 350, 18 sqq.). But this is not in accord with the definite and official explanation of Polybius.

scias] ‘know all about how,’ not merely think—a hit at the dogmatism of the Epicureans.

Ulubrano] In CIL. x. 6489 (= Or. 123) we find, a duovir et quaestor reip. at Ulubrae, and in 6490 (= Or. 121, 4942), a praef. iure dicundo. Ulubrae was, accordingly, a municipium. But it was proverbial for a poor and deserted town. Hor. Epp. 1, 11, 29: *Quod petis hic est est Ulubris animus si te non deficit aequus*; Juv. 10, 102: *pannosus vacuis aedilis Ulubris*. Trebatius was *patronus* of the town. These *patroni* were influential Romans, selected by the decuriones, who used to lend assistance and protection to the town at Rome. The townsmen then were their *clientes*. The *patroni* were put first in the list of the senate (see the album of Canusium, CIL. ix. 338. For full information on the *patroni* and their origin, see Marquardt, i. 188, and Mommsen’s splendid note on the Lex Colon. Juliae Genetivae in Eph. Epig. ii. 146.

πολιτεύεσθαι] This word does not occur in the *kyρία δόξα* on the subject.

adsentari] ‘to humour.’ On no account must we translate it ‘assent to,’ which is *adsentiri*. See a learned note by Mr. Reid on Acad. 2, 45.

CLXXI. FROM CICERO TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 13).

A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53

M. Cicero C. Trebatio causam exponit intermissionis epistolarum sibi gratum esse significat iocis interpositis, quod amicus iam libentius in provincia versetur.

M. CICERO S. D. TREBATIO.

1. Adeone me iniustum esse existimasti, ut tibi irascerer, quod parum mihi constans et nimium cupidus decedendi viderere, ob eamque causam me arbitrare litteras ad te iam diu non misisse? Mihi perturbatio animi tui, quam primis litteris perspiciebam, molestiam attulit. Neque alia ulla fuit causa intermissionis epistolarum, nisi quod ubi esses plane nesciebam. Hic tu me etiam insimulas nec satisfactionem meam accipis? Audi, Testa mi:

1. *arbitrare*] The reading of M, accepted by all the editors, is *arbitrarere*. But it seems to me that this is probably wrong. *Arbitrarere* was, by one of the commonest of errors, assimilated to the mood of *viderere*. Now, the *Codex Turonensis* has *arbitrare*, which seems to me to be more probably right. It is true that the *Codex Turonensis*, in giving *arbitrare*, naturally makes the same kind of mistake as M, and gives *videre* for *viderere*, while Cicero, in my judgment, wrote *viderere* . . . *arbitrare*. For what satisfactory meaning could be got out of *arbitrarere*? 'Did you think me so unreasonable as to be annoyed with you because you seemed to me wanting in firmness, and too impatient to leave Gaul, and because you supposed it was for that reason that I was so long without writing?' For what reason? Because Trebatius seemed to Cicero wanting in firmness, and impatient? But would Cicero be annoyed with Trebatius, because Trebatius mistook the reason why Cicero did not write? It seems to me far more natural that Cicero should write: 'Did you think me so unreasonable as to be annoyed with you because I thought you weak and impatient, and do you suppose that was the

reason of my long silence?' It will be observed that the present is found afterwards in *insimulas*, *accipio*, and that there is really as good authority for *arbitrare* as for *arbitrarere*.

neque alia ulla] 'there was no other reason for my silence, save my ignorance of your whereabouts.' That is, the only reason for his silence was his ignorance of Trebatius' address; the uneasiness which showed itself in the early letters of Trebatius distressed Cicero, but did not prevent his writing. *Ulla* is omitted by T and R: perhaps what Cicero wrote was *ulla*, not *alia ulla*. But *alia ulla* is quite intelligible in the sense in which I have explained it.

Hic . . . accipis] An indignant question: for the use of *hic* in such cases, cp. *hic tu . . . miraris*? Fam. v. 15, 4; *hic . . . commemorat*? Phil. viii. 11. Wes. ingeniously proves that such passages should be treated as questions, by pointing to Sall. Cat. 52, 11, where, if there were no question, *aliquis* would have been used, instead of *quisquam*.

satisfactionem] the regular Latin word for 'an apology.'

Audi, Testa mi] See Vol. I², pp. 48, 49.

utrum superbiorem te pecunia facit an quod te imperator consulit? Moriar, ni, quae tua gloria est, puto te malle a Caesare consuli quam inaurari. Si vero utrumque est, quis te feret praeter me, qui omnia ferre possum? 2. Sed, ut ad rem redeam, te istic invitum non esse vehementer gaudeo, et, ut illud erat molestum, sic hoc est iucundum. Tantum metuo, ne artificium tuum tibi parum prosit: nam, ut audio, istic

*non ex iure manum consertum, sed magis ferro
rem repetunt,*

et tu soles ad vim faciundam adhiberi: neque est quod illam exceptionem in interdicto pertimescas; QUO TU PRIOR VI HOMINIBUS ARMATIS NON VENERIS: seio enim te non esse procacem in laces-

gloria] 'desire of distinction,' 'ambition,' as often in Cicero and the comic drama.

inaurari] 'gilded'; that is, 'enriched.' Cp. Hor. Ep. i. 12, 9, *fortunae rivus in-auret*.

utrumque est] that is, if you are being gilded by Caesar, as well as consulted.

2. *illud*] 'your former impatience'; *hoc*, 'your present contentment.'

artificium] 'profession.' Cicero says he fears Trebatius will not make much by his profession among the Gauls,

'Because the good old rule
Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.'

The quotation which Cicero uses to convey this sentiment is from Ennius, *Annales* 275 (Vahlen). The whole fragment which describes the uselessness in time of war of the arts of peace runs thus:—

Pellitur e medio sapientia, vi geritur res,
Spernitur orator bonus, horridus miles ama-
tur,
Haud doctis dictis certantes sed maledictis
Miscent inter sese inimicitiam agitantes.
Non ex iure manum consertum sed magi ferro
Rem repetunt regnumque petunt, vadunt
solida vi.

In this fragment *sapientia* seems to be used in the sense which it often bears in the letters to Trebatius, 'the art of the jurisconsult.' Observe the unelided *-ām* in *inimicitiam*. The construction of *manum consertum* is strange. *Consertum* is the supine of *conserere*, depending on *eunt* or *vocant*, taken out of *repetunt*, and governing *manum*. *Ex iure* means 'in accordance with legal rights of a citizen.'

Manum conserere has a double sense—(1) 'to make a legal claim to property,' (2) 'to join battle.' The fragment is again quoted (there more fully) in *pro Murena* 30.

et tu soles] Wes. first saw that this must be taken in close connexion with what goes before. I have followed him in putting a comma, instead of a full stop, after *repetunt*, and in omitting the mark of interrogation inserted by all other edd. after *adhiberi*. The meaning is: 'there is no place for a jurisconsult in the camp of Caesar, where they may keep who can, and where you, a jurist, are actually employed (*adhibere*) to commit violence' [in battle against the enemy, instead of being consulted (*adhiberi*) in cases of assault and battery]. There is a play on two senses of the word *adhiberi*.

exceptionem in interdicto] The interdictum was a provisional decree of the praetor, chiefly in the case of disputed possession. There were three kinds of interdict, *adipiscendae*, *retinendae*, and *recuperandae possessionis*. This is probably an interdict *retinendae poss.* The formula in this case runs: *Uti eas aedes quibus de agitur, nec vi nec clam nec precario alter ab altero possedetis, quominus ita possideatis vim fieri veto*. The words in italics would constitute the *exceptio*. There are, however, to me two difficulties, in reference to this interdict—(1) I cannot find in the Digest at all the exact expression *QUO TU PRIOR VI NON VENERIS*; (2) nor any provision about armed violence (*vi hominibus armatis*), which was different from the ordinary *vis*. There is a

sendo. Sed, ut ego quoque te aliquid admoneam de vestris cautionibus, Treviros vites censeo: audio capitales esse: mallem auro, argento, aere essent. Sed alias iocabimur. Tu ad me istis rebus omnibus scribas velim quam diligentissime. D. iv. Non. Mart.

CLXXII. FROM CICERO TO TREBATIUS

(FAM. VII. 14).

A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

Iocose ac familiariter carpit M. Cicero C. Trebatium, quod nullas litteras miserat.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Chrysippus Vettius, Cyri architecti libertus, fecit ut te non immemorem putarem mei: salutem enim verbis tuis mihi nuntiarat.

strong objection to making this an interdict *recuperandae poss.*, for in this case, when armed force had been used, we are distinctly told that no *exceptiones* are tolerated (Gaius, iv. 155, and Poste). This point also clearly appears in the *Caecina*, § 63. Cicero says: 'you have no reason to fear the *exceptio*; I warrant you never made a forcible entry.' *Quo non veneris = in quam possessionem non veneris = si in eam possessionem non veneris.* The correlative to *quo* would be found in many *formulae* in the words *eo restituas*, which are common in *formulae*. See for a passage very similar to this, Fam. xv. 16, 3. It will be seen that the words of Cicero do not exactly fall in with any of the three common types of interdict. Perhaps he tripped in his law here. He can hardly have deliberately jumbled together two kinds of interdict, *retinendae* and *recuperandae possessionis*, as a joke, in the spirit in which he writes, *satisme tibi videor abs te ius civile didicisse*, Fam. vii. 11, 1.

de vestris cautionibus] There are two kinds of *cautio*—the moral quality of *caution*, *wariness*, and the legal act of *going security for another*. Trebatius is very familiar with *cautiones* in the latter sense;

'but,' says Cicero, 'there are other kinds of *cautio*, and I advise you to beware of the Treviri; I hear they are a parlous folk.' Then, when he has called the Treviri 'parlous' *capitales*, he plays on the name of the *tres viri capitales*, who had charge of prisons and executions in Rome '[I don't want you to have anything to do with the *III. viri capitales*]; I had rather they were the masters of the mint that you were associating with.' The allusion is to the *III. viri auro argento aeri flando feriundo*, called in inscriptions III. V. A. A. A. F. F., 'the three commissioners for the casting and stamping of gold, silver, and copper coinage.' Broadly, he means: 'I wish you had less of the hardships of campaigning, and a better prospect of making your fortune,' which is, indeed, the burden of most of his letters to Trebatius. These commissioners were also called *III. viri monetales*. One might take off the play on words somehow thus:—Avoid the Treviri. I hear they do great execution, like their namesakes in Rome: now I don't want to hear about executions in connexion with you, unless it might be the execution of a deed of gift in your favour from Caesar.

Valde iam lautus es, qui gravere litteras ad me dare, homini praesertim prope domestico. Quod si scribere oblitus es, minus multi iam te advocato causa cadent: si nostri oblitus es, dabo operam, ut istuc veniam ante quam plane ex animo tuo effluo: sin aestivorum timor te debilitat, aliquid excogita, ut fecisti de Britannia. 2. Illud quidem perlibenter audivi ex eodem Chrysippo, te esse Caesari familiarem. Sed mehercule mallet, id quod erat aequius, de tuis rebus ex tuis litteris quam saepissime cognoscerem. Quod certe ita fieret, si tu maluisses benevolentiae quam litium iura perdiscere. Sed haec iocati sumus et tuo more et non nihil etiam nostro. Te valde amamus nosque a te amari cum volumus tum etiam confidimus.

1. *lautus*] 'you are a nice fellow, to make a difficulty about sending me a letter by him.'

scribere] He plays on the two senses of *scribere*—(1) 'to write'; (2) 'to draw up a legal instrument.' If Trebatius has forgotten *scribere* in the latter sense, so much the better for his clients, who thus cannot lose their causes by his bad advice. This word and two others on which he has already played are coupled together as law terms in a passage in the Or. pro Murena, § 9: *hanc urbanam militiam respondendi scribendi cavendi . . . secutus est*.

effluo] 'prior to my complete obliteration from your mind.' The indic. *effluo* implies that the obliteration of all thought of him from the mind of Trebatius is a thing certain to take place: cp. *litteras des antequam discedimus*, Att. x. 15, *fin.*;

antequam discedis Othonem convenias pervelim, xii. 37, 2; *circumspice, sed antequam erubescas*, xvi. 5, 3. This construction is very frequent in Plautus, Terence, and Cicero; it is found in Varro, Sallust, Livy, and Virgil, but not in other classical authors, or in Tacitus, Draeg., Hist. Synt. ii. § 512, pp. 589, 590.

2. *aequius*] 'more friendly'; *aequi et iniqui* = 'friends and foes,' Fam. iii. 6, *fin.*

cognoscerem] For *cognoscerem* in quasi-dependence on *mallet*, see Roby, ii. 1607, 1608; primary tenses are used when the principal verb is primary; secondary, when it is secondary. Good examples are: *de Menedemo vellem verum fuisset, de regina vellem verum sit*, Att. xv. 4, 4; *nollem dixissem*, 2 Verr. iv. 43; *vin te faciam fortunatum*, Pl. Capt. iv. 2, 78; *nolo me in tempore hoc videat senex*, Ter. And. 819.

CLXXIII. FROM CICERO TO TREBATIUS

(FAM VII. 18).

A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

Laudat M. Cicero constantiam C. Trebatii in toleranda militia et de istis rebus edoceri cupit. Locatur in eius parsimonia, quod in palimpsesto scripserit. Denique Balbo se eum commendaturum scribit, epistolam se eius conscidisse.

CICERO TREBATIO S.

1. Accepi a te aliquot epistolas uno tempore, quas tu diversis temporibus dederas: in quibus me cetera delectarunt: significabant enim te istam militiam iam firmo animo ferre et esse fortem virum et constantem. Quae ego paullisper in te ita desideravi, *ut* non imbecillitate animi tui, sed magis, ut desiderio nostri te aestuare putarem. Qua re perge, ut coepisti: forti animo istam tolera militiam: multa, mihi crede, adsequere: ego enim renovabo commendationem, sed tempore. Sic habeto, non tibi maiori esse curae, ut iste tuus a me discessus quam fructuosissimus tibi sit, quam mihi. Itaque, quoniam vestrae cautiones infirmae sunt, Graecu-

1. *ut non imbecillitate*] 'These qualities, resolution and strength of mind, I was sorry not to see in you, *but my sorrow was qualified by the feeling that* your uneasiness was due, not to weakness of mind, but to want of me.' *Ita desideravi ut putarem* means, 'my painful sense of your absence was mitigated by the thought that.' For the use of *ita* . . . *ut*, see vol. I², p. 65.

cautiones] This word has been played on before. Cicero here says: 'your bailbonds are often not very good: I have now given you (in the promise which I have just made, to give you a new commendatory letter to Caesar) a guarantee for you under my own hand.' But what is the meaning of *Graeculum*? Ernesti explains it to mean that the *cautio* now given by Cicero is untrustworthy—a case of *Graeca fides*. But this is plainly

impossible. Schütz thinks that Cicero sent with this letter a poem in Greek in praise of Trebatius; but this is inconsistent with the words above: *renovabo commendationem sed tempore*, which would not have been used if Cicero had already sent to Trebatius something which was intended to recommend him further to Caesar. Moreover, such a composition could hardly be called a *cautio*, or guaranty for, testimonial to, Trebatius. I cannot understand the words, unless this very letter was written to Trebatius in Greek. Then Cicero would say: 'I am as anxious for a fruitful issue of your campaigning as you are yourself; therefore I send to you the assurance of continued recommendation to Caesar which I have just given. And to show that the document is genuine I have written it *in Greek* with my own hand.' We know that

lam tibi misi cautionem chirographi mei. Tu me velim de ratione Gallici belli certiores facias: ego enim ignavissimo cuique maximam fidem habeo. 2. Sed, ut ad epistolas tuas redeam, cetera belle, illud miror: quis solet eodem exemplo plures dare, qui sua manu scribit? Nam quod in palimpsesto, laudo equidem parsimoniam. Sed miror quid in illa chartula fuerit, quod delere malueris [quam haec scribere], nisi forte tuas formulas. Non enim puto te meas epistolas delere, ut reponas tuas. An hoc significas, nihil fieri, frigere te, ne chartam quidem tibi suppeditare? Iam ista tua culpa est, qui verecundiam tecum extuleris et non hic nobiscum reliqueris. 3. Ego te Balbo, cum ad vos proficiscetur, more Romano commendabo. Tu, si intervallum longius erit mearum litterarum, ne sis admiratus: eram enim afuturus mense Aprili. Has litteras scripsi in Pomptino, cum ad villam M. Aemilii Philemonis devertissem, ex qua iam audieram fremitum clientium meorum, quos quidem tu mihi conciliasti.

Cicero uses Greek largely in his letters to Atticus (Att. vi. 4 and 5; ix. 4). Why, then, should he not have written this letter to Trebatius in Greek, which would have been a very clear proof that it came from Cicero, who, probably, had not many rivals in his knowledge of Greek, and who would have written a Greek letter with his own hand, and not entrusted it to a *librarius*? While fully recognising the culture of some of the slaves employed by Roman nobles as secretaries, we may fairly assume that the average *librarius* could not write a letter in Greek. Hence Cicero would have been obliged to write this Greek letter with his own hand. If this is not the meaning of the passage, I cannot suggest any other. Of course, if this letter, or any particular passage in it, was written in Greek, the editor, Tiro, or whoever else he was, has put it into Latin. This has certainly been done with stray Greek expressions here and there, and it does not seem unlikely that a similar treatment should have been applied to a letter, or part of one, written in Greek.

ignavissimo] Cicero means: 'you, as not being a man of war, are more likely to fully appreciate the difficulties of the position than Caesar, for instance, who sends home such encouraging accounts.'

2. *quis solet*] Cicero banters Trebatius on an apparent inconsistency. 'Though,' he says, 'you are so parsimonious as to

keep no copying clerk, and write your letters with your own hand, yet you make several copies of them.' That is, 'all your letters to me have the same news; each is just the same as the next.'

nam quod in palimpsesto] A further symptom of Trebatius' frugality is his using a palimpsest for his letters—a parchment from which writing has been erased, to make room for his letter. This Cicero commends, but wonders what the matter could have been which was so worthless as to make way for the dull and pointless letters of his friend, unless, indeed, it was his friend's conveyances. This bantering, it must be confessed, is dull, and not even graceful. I have bracketed *quam haec scribere*. The usual course is to insert *non* before *scribere*.

frigere] 'that you have nothing to do.' See on Q. Fr. ii. 10 (12), *fin*.

verecundiam] Cicero thinks Trebatius is far too shy about pushing his fortunes with Caesar. 'It is all your own fault, for taking your modesty out with you, instead of leaving it at home with us.' In Fam. vii. 5, 3, Cicero says of Trebatius, *pudentiores esse neminem*, and he refers to *tuus pudor* in Fam. vii. 7, 2.

3. *more Romano*] See on Fam. vii. 5, 3 (Ep. cxxxiv.).

clientium meorum] Trebatius was *patronus* of Ulubrae, and had made over to Cicero, during his absence in Gaul, the

Nam Ulubris honoris mei causa vim maximam ranunculorum se commosse constabat. Cura ut valeas. VI. Idus April. de Pompino.

4. Epistolam tuam, quam accepi ab L. Arruntio, conscidi innocentem: nihil enim habebat quod non vel in contione recte legi posset. Sed et Arruntius ita te mandasse aiebat et tu ascripseras. Verum illud esto. Nihil te ad me postea scripsisse demiror, praesertim tam novis rebus.

CLXXIV. FROM CICERO TO TREBATIUS

(FAM. VII. 15).

A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

M. Cicero iocans suum absentis Trebatii desiderium declarat et de C. Matii familiaritate gratulatur.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. *Quam sint morosi qui amant* vel ex hoc intellegi potest: moleste ferebam antea te invitum istie esse: pungit me rursus,

charge of his clients. Ulubrae was situated close to the Pomptine marshes, Hence, according to the commentators, Cicero calls its inhabitants *frogs*. 'This I am writing in the Pomptine villa of M. Aemilius Philemon, from which I have already heard the voices of my clients—those I mean whom you have secured for me—for it is well known that at Ulubrae a strong party of *frogs* have bestirred themselves, to show respect to me' (Mayor on Juv. x. 102). In another letter Cicero speaks of frogs as if they were men, *equidem etiam pluvias metuo si prognostica nostra vera sunt; ranæ enim βητορεύουσιν*, 'are holding forth,' Att. xv. 16 b. But I do not think Cicero here calls the inhabitants frogs. I think his joke is calling the frogs his clients. The frogs would abound in this marshy district. He calls their croaking *fremittum clientium meorum*, 'whom you have done me the favour to procure for me.' This gives a better meaning to *constabat*. He says jestingly: 'it is well known (is admitted by all, cannot fail to be ob-

served) that the immense gathering of frogs here is to be accounted for by the fact that they bestirred themselves to do me honour.' There was, in fact, a *concursum* of the frogs as a token of respect to their deputy *patronus*.

4. *conscidi innocentem*] 'I have torn it up, though quite undeserving of such a fate, for there was nothing in it that might not safely have been read to the whole populace.'

ita] 'that I should tear up all your letters.'

tam novis rebus] For the ablative, see on Ep. exxxi., § 4.

1. *Quam sint morosi qui amant*] This looks very like the beginning of a comic senarius. The *hiatus* shortening a long syllable (*qui*) in the *caesura* is a very common feature in Plautus. And the sentiment, 'How wayward is the mind of him who loves,' would be very suitable to some Faulkland of ancient comedy.

istic] in Gaul.

quod scribis esse te istic libenter : neque enim mea commendatione te non delectari facile patiebar et nunc angor quidquam tibi sine me esse iucundum. Sed hoc tamen malo ferre nos desiderium quam te non ea, quae spero, consequi. 2. Quod vero in C. Matii, suavissimi doctissimique hominis, familiaritatem venisti, non dici potest quam valde gaudeam : qui fac ut te quam maxime diligat. Mihi crede, nihil ex ista provincia potes quod iucundius sit deponere. Cura ut valeas.

CLXXV. FROM CICERO TO CURIO (FAM. II. 4).

A. U. C. 701 ; B. C. 53. ; AET. CIC. 53.

M. Cicero Curionem ad laudis studium excitare pergit.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

1. Epistolarum genera multa esse non ignoras, sed unum illud certissimum, cuius causa inventa res ipsa est, ut certiores faceremus absentes, si quid esset quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset. Tu huius generis litteras a me profecto non exspectas. Tuarum enim rerum domesticarum *domesticos* habes et scriptores et nuntios. In meis autem rebus nihil est sane novi. Reliqua sunt epistolarum genera duo, quae me magno opere delectant : unum familiare et iocosum, alterum severum et grave. Utro me minus deceat uti non intellego. Iocerne tecum per litteras ? Civem meher-

commendatione] 'I was annoyed that you were dissatisfied with the step that I recommended'; that is, that Trebatius should push his fortunes in the camp of Caesar.

2. *C. Matii*] a friend of Trebatius and of Caesar. We have a very good letter from him to Cicero on the death of Caesar (Fam. xi. 28)—perhaps the best letter of any of the correspondents of Cicero, except the beautiful letter of Sulpicius (Fam. iv. 5), in which he consoles the bereaved father for the death of his daughter Tullia.

quod iucundius sit] 'of a more agreeable character.' The subjunctive ascribes a thing to a class; cp. *quod iuvet curiosus*, Fam. iii. 1, 1. *Nihil iucundius* would not have been so strong an expression.

1. *certissimum*] 'unquestionable,' 'undeniable'; cp. *equum tu illo certiore nebulonem* ? Att. xv. 21, 1.

scriptores et nuntios] The distinction seems to be that *nuntios* refers especially to good news.

eule non puto esse qui temporibus his ridere possit. An gravius aliquid scribam? Quid est quod possit graviter a Cicerone scribi ad Curionem nisi de re publica? Atque in hoc genere haec mea causa est, ut neque ea, *quae sentio, audeam neque ea*, quae non sentio, velim scribere. 2. Quam ob rem quoniam mihi nullum scribendi argumentum relictum est, utar ea clausula, qua soleo, teque ad studium summae laudis cohortabor. Est enim tibi gravis adversaria constituta et parata, incredibilis quaedam exspectatio: quam tu una re facillime vinctus, si hoc statueris, quarum laudum gloriam adamaris, quibus artibus eae laudes comparantur, in iis esse elaborandum. In hanc sententiam scriberem plura, nisi te tua sponte satis incitatum esse confiderem, et hoc, quidquid attigi, non feci inflammandi tui causa, sed testificandi amoris mei.

quae sentio audeam neque ea] The italicized words, or some such, must be supplied. The old commentators took *neque* in the sense of *ne . . . quidem*, but this is un-Ciceronian, as is shown by Madv. on Fin. ii. 4, and more fully in *Excursus* iii., appended to his 3rd ed. of the *De Finibus*, pp. 803 ff.

2. *adversaria*] Cicero says that Curio has a formidable rival in the high hopes that have been formed of him; other antagonists he will easily overcome: this only it will be hard to keep even with.

quibus artibus] = *in iis* (artibus) *esse*

elaborandum quibus (artibus) *eae laudes comparantur, quarum* (laudum) *gloriam adamaris*. The same involution of relative and antecedent clauses is found in De Or. ii. 92: *quem probabit, in eo quae maxime excellent, ea . . . persequatur*. Hofm. remarks that this usage is very common in the recital of laws, *e. g.* Liv. xxiii. 14, 3. *Laudes* means 'meritorious actions,' as often in Cicero and in the oft-quoted *sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi*, Virg. A. i. 461.

inflammandi tui] *tui* is genitive of *tu*, not genitive of *tuus*, with *amoris* understood.

CLXXVI. FROM CICERO TO CURIO (FAM. II. 5).

A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

Questus de publicis malis C. Curioni gratulatur, quod ea non videat et magnam ex benefactis laudem consequatur. Sed tamen etiam sic ad capessendam rem publicam adolescentulum adhortatur.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

1. Haec negotia quo modo se habeant ne epistola quidem narrare audeo. Tibi, etsi, ubicumque es, ut scripsi ad te ante, in eadem es navi, tamen, quod abes, gratulor, vel quia non vides ea, quae nos, vel quod excelso et illustri loco sita est laus tua in plurimorum et sociorum et civium conspectu: quae ad nos nec obscuro nec vario sermone, sed et clarissima et una omnium voce perfertur. 2. Unum illud nescio, gratulerne tibi an timeam, quod mirabilis est exspectatio redditus tui, non quo verear ne tua virtus opinioni hominum non respondeat, sed mehercule ne, cum veneris, non habeas iam quod cures: ita sunt omnia debilitata ac iam prope extincta. Sed haec ipsa nescio rectene sint litteris commissa. Qua re cetera cognoscas ex aliis. Tu tamen, sive habes aliquam spem de re publica sive desperas, ea para, meditare, cogita, quae esse in eo civi ac viro debent, qui sit rem publicam adflictam et oppressam miseris temporibus ac perditis moribus in veterem dignitatem et libertatem vindicaturus.

1. *in eadem es navi*] Cp. *una navis est iam bonorum omnium quam quidem nos damus operam ut rectam teneamus*, Fam. xii. 25, 5; and ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς (ἀγκύρας) ὁρμεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς, Dem. 319, 8.

2. *sed mehercule*] *vereor* must be taken

out of *non verear*, just as *volo* must be inferred from *nolo* in De Nat. Deor. i. 17, *nolo existimes me adiutorem huic venisse sed auditorem*, Hofm.

recte] 'safely,' as in Att. iv. 1, 1; Fam. i. 9, 23.

CLXXVII. FROM CICERO TO CURIO (FAM. II. 6).

A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

M. Cicero C. Curioni ex Asia adventanti Milonis causam consulatum petentis diligentissime commendat, ut qua valeat gratia illius petitionem adiuvet: quod si faceret, non solum T. Milonem, verum etiam ipsum Ciceronem sibi maximo opere devincturum esse.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

1. Nondum erat auditum te ad Italiam adventare, cum Sex. Villium, Milonis mei familiarem, cum his ad te litteris misi. Sed tamen cum appropinquare tuus adventus putaretur et te iam ex Asia Romam versus profectum esse constaret, magnitudo rei fecit ut non vereremur ne nimis cito mitteremus, cum has quam primum ad te perferri litteras magno opere vellemus. Ego, si mea in te essent officia solum, Curio—tanta, quanta magis a te ipso praedicari quam a me ponderari solent—verecundius a te, si quae magna res mihi petenda esset, contenderem. Grave est enim homini pudenti petere aliquid magnum ab eo, de quo se bene meritum putet, ne id, quod petat, exigere magis quam rogare et in mercedis potius quam beneficii loco numerare videatur. 2. Sed quia tua in me vel nota omnibus vel ipsa novitate meorum temporum clarissima et maxima beneficia exstiterunt; estque animi ingenui, cui multum

1. *Sex. Villium*] mentioned by Horace, Sat. i. 2, 64.

ego, si mea in te] The meaning is this:—‘If the services were only from me to you—and as great (not as I am wont to estimate them [for I think little indeed of them] but) as you often declare them to be—then I should be shy about asking a great favour of you. A man of sensitiveness hates to ask a great favour of one whom he regards as being under an obligation to himself. He fears that he may seem to demand a right, not to beg a kindness, and to regard the granting of his request as the payment of a debt, not the conferring of a favour. But seeing that

[instead of the services being all from me] your kindnesses to me were conspicuous to all; or shall I rather say, were thrown out in the clearest prominence as invaluable by the very unprecedented nature of the crisis in which I stood: *seeing too, that* a man with the feelings of a gentleman, where he owes much, would fain owe more and more: under these circumstances, I have not hesitated to ask you for a service which is of the highest moment to myself.’ I have adopted in the text the punctuation of Wes., who, by marking *tanta . . . solent* as a parenthesis, has thrown some light on a passage by no means clearly expressed.

debeas, eidem plurimum velle debere; non dubitavi id a te per litteras petere, quod mihi omnium esset maximum maximeque necessarium. Neque enim sum veritus ne sustinere tua in me merita vel innumerabilia non possem, cum praesertim confiderem nullam esse gratiam tantam, quam non vel capere animus meus in accipiendo vel in remunerando cumulare atque illustrare posset. 3. Ego omnia mea studia, omnem operam, curam, industriam, cogitationem, mentem denique omnem in Milonis consulatu fixi et locavi statuique in eo me non officii solum fructum, sed etiam pietatis laudem debere quaerere. Neque vero cuiquam salutem ac fortunas suas tantae curae fuisse umquam puto, quantae mihi est honos eius, in quo omnia mea posita esse decrevi. Huic te unum tanto adiumento esse, si volueris, posse intellego, ut nihil sit praeterea nobis requirendum. Habemus haec omnia: bonorum studium conciliatum ex tribunatu propter nostram, ut spero te intellegere, causam, vulgi ac multitudinis propter magnificentiam munerum liberalitatemque naturae, iuventutis et gratiosorum in suffragiis studia propter ipsius excellentem in eo genere vel gratiam vel diligentiam, nostram suffragationem si minus potentem, at probatam tamen et iustam et debitam et propterea fortasse etiam gratiosam. 4. Dux nobis et auctor opus est et eorum ventorum, quos proposui, moderator quidam et quasi gubernator: qui si ex

2. *sustinere . . . non possem*] 'lest I should sink under the weight of your favours, even were they countless.'

cum . . . confiderem] 'especially as I feel confident that you could confer on me no favour so great that I could not find room in my heart for a due appreciation in the receiving of it—could not duly glorify it in the paying of it back, with abundant interest.' In the last words he alludes to the unique opportunities for pronouncing glowing eulogies on those who should place him under an obligation, which his commanding position as an orator placed in his hands. *Capere* is 'to contain,' 'have room for.' For *cumulare* cp. *quam (veniam) mihi cum dederis cumulatam morte remittam*, Virg. A. iv. 436.

3. *fixi et locavi*] 'I have centred and invested.' *Locavi* must mean 'I have (as it were) put out to interest' all my energies and faculties, and have 'invested' my all in Milo's consulate; for if *locare*

here bore its other meaning of 'to place,' 'set,' *locavi* would be weaker than *fixi*, and the word would be an anticlimax. This is further shown by the words which follow: 'I have made up my mind that in this matter I must try to gain, not only the [gratitude and good offices which are the] *profits* from an investment of kind acts, but also to gain credit for feeling an affectionate regard' [towards Milo].

munerum] See Q. Fr. iii. 9, 2 (Ep. clx.). *vel gratiam vel diligentiam*] 'due to the signal popularity he has won, or, shall I say, energy he has shown, in that sphere' (electioneering).

4. *ventorum*] The forces or influences to which Milo had to trust are called the 'winds,' which are to carry him into the consulate. Compare the words with which Caesar is ushered on to the stage of Cicero's correspondence—(Caesaris) *nunc venti valde sunt secundi*, Att. ii. 1, 6.

dux . . . opus est] When the thing needed is a person, the nom. is very rarely used.

omnibus unus optandus esset, quem tecum conferre possemus non haberemus. Quam ob rem, si me memorem, si gratum, si bonum virum vel ex hoc ipso, quod tam vehementer de Milone laborem, existimare potes, si dignum denique tuis beneficiis iudicas, hoc a te peto, ut subvenias huic meae sollicitudini et huic meae laudi vel—ut verius dicam—prope saluti tuum studium dices. De ipso T. Annio tantum tibi polliceor, te maioris animi, gravitatis, constantiae benevolentiaeque erga te, si complecti hominem volueris, habiturum esse neminem. Mihi vero tantum decoris, tantum dignitatis adiunxeris, ut eundem te facile agnoscam fuisse in laude mea, qui fueris in salute. 5. Ego, ni te videre scirem, cum ad te haec scriberem, quantum officii sustinerem, quanto opere mihi esset in hac petitione Milonis omni non modo contentione, sed etiam dimicatione elaborandum, plura scriberem. Nunc tibi omnem rem atque causam meque totum commendo atque trado. Unum hoc sic habeto: si a te hanc rem impetraro, me paene plus tibi quam ipsi Miloni debitum: non enim mihi tam mea salus cara fuit, in qua praecipue sum ab illo adiutus, quam pietas erit in referenda gratia iucunda. Eam autem unius tui studio me adsequi posse confido.

vel ex hoc ipso] More accurately Cicero would have said: 'if you think I don't forget favours, that I am grateful, that I am an honest man—which you can infer even from my present eagerness to serve Milo, who has done me such services.' His eagerness hurried him into saying: 'if you infer my honesty from my eagerness for Milo.'

prope salutē] Cicero's *salus* might be endangered by the failure of Milo, whose two competitors, Plautius Hypsaeus and Metellus Scipio, were under the influence of Clodius, who was now seeking the praetorship.

dices] 'dedicate,' from *dīco* (*dicare*).

in laude mea] 'in this matter, which touches my whole reputation' (for *pietas*, as he has said in § 3). *In salute* refers

here, as it usually does in the letters, to Cicero's restoration from exile.

5. *quantum officii sustinerem*] 'under what a load of obligation I am' to Milo.

contentione . . . dimicatione] 'that I am bound not only to work for him, but to fight for him, in every way in my power.' *Contentio* is the struggle in the *forum*, or senate; *dimicatio* is the actual clash of contending mobs, which Milo had often faced for the sake of Cicero, and was destined soon to face again at Bovillae.

rem atque causam] *rem* is the whole case; *causam* is the cause of Milo; cp. *de Alexandrina re causaque regia*, Fam. i. 5a, 3; *difficili in re atque causa*, Fam. ii. 7, 3; *multa enim quae sunt in re quia remota sunt a causa praetermittam*, pro Caecin. 11 (Hofm.).

CLXXVIII. FROM CICERO TO T. TITIUS

(FAM. XIII. 75).

A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

M. Cicero T. Titio legato C. Avianio Flaccum iterum commendat in causa frumentaria.

M. CICERO T. TITIO T. F. LEG. S. D.

Etsi non dubito quin apud te mea commendatio prima satis valeat, tamen obsequor homini familiarissimo, C. Avianio Flacco, cuius causa omnia cum cupio tum mehercule etiam debeo. De quo et praesens tecum egi diligenter, cum tu mihi humanissime respondisti, et scripsi ad te accurate antea, sed putat interesse sua me ad te quam saepissime scribere. Qua re velim mihi ignoscas, si illius voluntati obtemperans minus videbor meminisse constantiae tuae. 2. A te idem illud peto, ut de loco, quo deportet frumentum, et de tempore Avianio commodos: quorum utrumque per eundem me obtinuit triennium, dum Pompeius isti negotio praefuit. Summa est, in quo mihi gratissimum facere possis, si curaris ut Avianius, quoniam se a me amari putat, me a te amari sciat. Erit id mihi pergratum.

Leg.] = *legato*. Titius was a *legatus* of Pompeius during part of the five years in which Pompeius held the *praefectura annonae*. Avianius was, no doubt, a *negotiator*, who had for three years (*triennium dum Pompeius isti negotio praefuit*) enjoyed certain privileges as regarded the place, and time of conveyance, and delivering of corn. Cicero now asks Titius to secure to him a continuance of these advantages. His business probably was to contract for shipping corn to Rome; *deporto* is used especially of 'bringing home from the provinces.'

2. *summa est . . . si curaris*] 'The

main thing is, that you should, if possible, let Avianius feel,' &c. Such must be the force of *summa est si curaris*. Perhaps Cicero wrote *summa est: est in quo mihi gratissima facere possis si curaris*, 'the main point is this: you have an opportunity of laying me under a great obligation if you can let A. know,' &c. Cp. *naviget: haec summa est*, Virg. A. iv. 237. It seems to me that *summa est si* is a strange expression, and with the ordinary reading I should have rather expected *facere potes*, though *possis* is quite defensible.

LETTERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. CLXXIX.-CLXXXII.

A. U. C. 702; B. C. 52; AET. CIC. 54.

COSS. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS AND (FOR THE LAST FIVE MONTHS)
Q. METELLUS SCIPIO.

THIS year began with much rioting and severe collisions between the partisans of P. Plautius Hypsæus, T. Annius Milo, and Q. Metellus Scipio, the candidates for consulship. Clodius, who sought the praetorship, was murdered near Bovillae, on the Appian Way, on January 17 or 18. Shortly after Pompeius was appointed sole consul. He associated with himself, as colleague, for the last five months of his consulship, Q. Metellus Scipio, whose daughter Cornelia he had just married. Cicero defended Milo *de vi*, but failed to procure his acquittal. He, however, succeeded in procuring the condemnation of T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, a supporter of Clodius, and the acquittal of M. Scaevola, who had taken a leading part on Milo's side in the *pugna Bovillana*, as Cicero calls the fray which ended in the death of Clodius. The letters of this year are few and unimportant. To it are ascribed the treatise *De optimo genere oratorum*, and the inception of the *De Legibus*.

CLXXIX. FROM CICERO TO P. SITTIUS

(FAM. V. 17).

A. U. C. 702; B. C. 52; AET. CIC. 54.

M. Cicero P. Sittium exulantem, excusata litterarum tarditate, consolatur hortaturque, ut magno animo vitae suae acerbitem ferat varia solandi argumenta adhibens.

M. CICERO S. D. P. SITTIUS P. F.

1. Non oblivione amicitiae nostrae neque intermissione consuetudinis meae superioribus temporibus ad te nullas litteras misi, sed quod priora tempora in ruinis rei publicae nostrisque iacuerunt, posteriora autem me a scribendo tuis iniustissimis atque acerbissimis incommodis retardarunt. Cum vero et intervallum iam satis longum fuisset et tuam virtutem animique magnitudinem diligentius essem mecum recordatus, non putavi esse alienum institutis

Sittio] Much uncertainty surrounds not only the date of this letter, but the name of the friend to whom it is addressed, the mss varying between Sittius, Titius, and Sestius. There is nothing in the letter inconsistent with the belief that it was written this year (to which Wes. assigns it) if *recenti reditu* be interpreted 'just after my return,' 'when my return was still fresh.' It is a consolatory letter, written to a friend in exile, of whom we know nothing but what may be gathered from the letter itself. What we may gather from the letter is this:—Sittius was an old friend of Cicero's. He was condemned and exiled on some charge, in which also was implicated a very intimate friend of his. Sittius was, perhaps, aedile in the year of Cicero's return from exile. That year was marked by a scarcity of corn—a circumstance which often led to riots in Rome. Sittius, if aedile, may have then incurred unpopularity. Cicero seems to think his trial was unfair. Sittius had a son Publius, whom Cicero befriended.

1. *superioribus temporibus*] *Prima tempora* refers to the consulship of L. Piso and A. Gabinius when Cicero was sent into exile: *posteriora tempora* to the more recent incidents of the unpopularity and ultimate condemnation of Sittius; both form parts of the *superiora tempora*, which includes the whole period from Cicero's exile to the present time, corresponding pretty well to our phrase 'of late years.'

iacuerunt] This is a strange verb to have *priora tempora* for a subject. What he means is, that in the early period he was withheld from writing by the desperate condition of the State and of his own private affairs, while in the later period he was discouraged from writing by reason of the troubles of his friend. What he says is: 'the earlier period was involved in the downfall of the State and of myself; the later withheld me from writing by your troubles.' Mr. Purser suggests *tacuerunt* for *iacuerunt*, aptly comparing *tempus* . . . *mutum a litteris*, Att. viii. 14, 1.

meis haec ad te scribere. 2. Ego te, P. Sitti, et primis temporibus illis, quibus in invidiam absens et in crimen vocabare, defendi et cum [in] tui familiarissimi iudicio ac periculo tuum crimen coniungeretur, ut potui accuratissime te tuamque causam tutatus sum, et proxime, recenti adventu meo, cum rem aliter institutam offendissem ac mihi placuisset, si adfuissem, tamen nulla re salutis tuae defui. Cumque eo tempore invidia annonae, inimici non solum tui, verum etiam amicorum tuorum, iniquitas totius iudicii multaque alia rei publicae vitia plus quam causa ipsa veritasque valuisent, Publio tuo neque opera neque consilio neque labore neque gratia neque testimonio defui. 3. Quam ob rem omnibus officiis amicitiae diligenter a me sancteque servatis ne hoc quidem praetermittendum esse duxi, te ut hortarer rogaremque, ut et hominem te et virum esse meminisses, id est, ut et communem incertumque casum, quem neque vitare quisquam nostrum nec praestare ullo pacto potest, sapienter ferres et dolori fortiter ac fortunae resisteres cogitaresque et in nostra civitate et in ceteris, quae rerum potitae sunt, multis fortissimis atque optimis viris iniustis iudiciis tales casus incidisse. Illud utinam ne vere scriberem, ea te re publica carere, in qua neminem prudentem hominem res ulla delectet! 4. De tuo autem filio vereor ne, si nihil ad te scripserim, debitum eius virtuti videar testimonium non dedisse, sin autem omnia, quae sentio, perscripserim, ne refricem meis litteris desiderium ac dolorem tuum. Sed tamen prudentissime facies, si illius pietatem, virtutem, industriam, ubicumque eris, tuam esse, tecum esse duces: nec enim minus nostra sunt quae animo com-

2. *recenti adventu meo*] 'when my return was recent'; that is, 'just after my return.' For this ablative see on Ep. cxxxi. § 4.

inimici] 'those who were the enemies not only of you, but of your friends.'

3. *hominem te et virum*] This passage admirably illustrates the distinction between *homo* and *vir* commented on above, Ep. cxxx. § 4.

praestare! 'to be responsible for,' 'vouch for,' 'answer for.' Cicero says, we cannot vouch for the chances and changes of this life; that is, we cannot be sure that chances and changes will not occur. Just in the same way we find in Fam. vi. 1, 4, *sinus ea mente ut nihil in vita nobis praestandum praeter culpam*

putemus, 'let us feel that we can only vouch for guilt': that is, 'we can only undertake to keep clear of going wrong ourselves; for the rest, anything may happen.' So *eum id quod ab homine non potuerit praestari evenerit*, 'the absence of which no one could vouch for,' Tusc. iii. 34; *impetus populi . . . quos praestare nemo posset*, De Or. ii. 124. The full phrase in *praestare periculum*, as in Caes. B. C. iii. 17, *praestare periculum eorum*.

delectet] subjunctive, because the verb describes the state of public affairs, 'a state of such a kind that no single feature in it can give pleasure to a judicious observer.'

4. *tecum esse duces*] 'regard as being with you.'

plectimur quam quae oculis intuemur. 5. Quam ob rem et illius eximia virtus summusque in te amor magnae tibi consolationi debet esse et nos ceterique, qui te non ex fortuna, sed ex virtute tua pendimus semperque pendemus, et maxime animi tui conscientia, cum tibi nihil merito accidisse reputabis et illud adiunges, homines sapientes turpitudine non casu, et delicto suo non aliorum iniuria, commoveri. Ego et memoria nostrae veteris amicitiae et virtute atque observantia filii tui monitus nullo loco deero neque ad consolandam neque ad levandam fortunam tuam. Tu si quid ad me forte scripseris, perficiam ne te frustra scripsisse arbitrere.

CLXXX. FROM CICERO TO T. FADIUS (FAM. V. 18).

A. U. C. 702; B. C. 52; AET. CIC. 54.

M. Cicero T. Fadium, qui quaestor et tribunus pl. fuerat, exsulantem consolatur.

M. CICERO S. D. T. FADIO.

1. Etsi egomet, qui te consolari cupio, consolandus ipse sum, propterea quod nullam rem gravius iam diu tuli quam incommodum tuum, tamen te magno opere non hortor solum, sed etiam pro amore nostro rogo atque oro, te colligas virumque praebeas et qua condicione omnes homines et quibus temporibus nos nati simus

quae . . . intuemur] 'the objects of the mind are as much a possession to us as the objects of the senses.'

5. *nos ceterique*] 'we and your other friends, who value you for your real worth, not for your worldly position,' ought to be to you a great source of consolation.

maxime] vulg. *marimae*, which would agree with *consolationi*, understood, the construction being *et maxime* (consolationi debet esse) *tui conscientia*.

consolandam . . . fortunam] 'to soothe.' *Consolari* is often applied to things, as here; Q. Fr. ii. 4, 6; pro Mil. 97.

T. Fadio] T. Fadius was tribune 696

(58), as may be learned from Q. Fr. i. 4, 3: he is mentioned again in Att. iii. 23, 4, in connexion with a *lex* for Cicero's restoration. He was afterwards quaestor to Cicero in his consulship, *Post red. in sen.* 21. He had now incurred the punishment of exile. Cicero consoles him in a letter very like the last.

1. *te colligas*] This is very like our expression 'pull yourself together'; but there is no reason to think that the Latin phrase was tainted with the vulgarism which hangs round the English expression which I have compared. Cp. *collegi me aliquando*, Cluent. 51.

omnes homines] sc. *nati sint*.

cogites. Plus tibi virtus tua dedit quam fortuna abstulit, propterea quod adeptus es quod non multi homines novi, amisisti quae plurimi homines nobilissimi. Ea denique videtur condicio impendere legum, iudiciorum, temporum, ut optime actum cum eo videatur esse, qui quam levissima poena ab hac re publica disceserit. 2. Tu vero, qui et fortunas et liberos habeas et nos ceterosque necessitudine et benevolentia tecum coniunctissimos, cumque magnam facultatem sis habiturus nobiscum et cum omnibus tuis vivendi, et cum *tuum* unum sit iudicium ex tam multis quod reprehendatur, ut quod una sententia eaque dubia potentiae alicuius condonatum existimetur, omnibus his de causis debes istam molestiam quam lenissime ferre. Meus animus erit in te liberosque tuos semper quem tu esse vis et qui esse debet.

CLXXXI. FROM CICERO TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS
PULCHER (FAM. III. 1).

A. U. C. 702; B. C. 52; AET. CIC. 54.

Appio Ciliciae procos. litterarum brevitatem excusat M. Cicero eo, quod dicit Phanium libertum omnia et de se et de re publ. accurate enarraturum esse, quem non minus quam alterum libertum Appii Cilicem collaudat. Denique L. Valerium iure consultum lepide commendat.

CICERO APPIO IMP. S. D.

1. Si ipsa res publica tibi narrare posset quo modo sese haberet, non facilius ex ea cognoscere posses quam ex liberto tuo Phania :

non multi homines novi] These words are supplied from this passage by Btr. at Ep. xii. 3.

levissima] The conditions of the exile of Fadius permitted him to live in Italy, and often see his family. *Sis habiturus*, § 2, shows that his immediate restoration was expected.

2. *alicuius*] Pompeius. The casting vote against Fadius was *dubia*, 'waver-ing,' and was supposed to be a concession to the influence of Pompeius. The construction is: *cum tuum unum sit iudicium*

... quod reprehendatur ut quod ... existimetur, 'since yours is the only one of the many recent trials which is criticised as being believed to be a sacrifice to private influence, carried too by only a single vote.'

Appio] Appius Claudius Pulcher, brother of Cicero's enemy, P. Clodius, had been consul the year before this, and now held as proconsul the governorship of Cilicia, in which he was to be succeeded by Cicero.

ita est homo non modo prudens, verum etiam, quod iuvet, curiosus. Quapropter ille tibi omnia explanabit: id enim mihi et ad brevitatem est aptius et ad reliquas res providentius. De mea autem benevolentia erga te, etsi potes ex eodem Phania cognoscere, tamen videntur etiam aliquae meae partes. Sic enim tibi persuade, carissimum te mihi esse cum propter multas suavitates ingenii, officii, humanitatis tuae tum quod ex tuis litteris et ex multorum sermonibus intellego omnia, quae a me profecta sunt in te, tibi accidisse gratissima. Quod cum ita sit, perficiam profecto, ut longi temporis usuram, qua caruimus intermissa nostra consuetudine, et gratia et crebritate et magnitudine officiorum meorum sarciam: idque me, quoniam tu ita vis, puto non invita Minerva esse facturum: quam quidem ego,

1. *quod iuvet curiosus*] 'agreeably inquisitive.' *Curiosus*, without the qualifying words, would be depreciatory.

providentius] more consistent with the wariness which Cicero feels he must use in discussing public affairs.

aliquae meae partes] 'it seems to me that this is a duty in which I too must share; for you must know that I regard you with the greatest affection.' There is no reason at all for changing *enim* to *ergo*; for *enim* explains why Cicero will not leave altogether to Phania the task of conveying his good wishes to Appius. These do not seem to be very sincere, when we read the letters of Cicero to Atticus from his province, and note the tone in which he speaks of his predecessor.

intermissa] by reason of the enmity between Cicero and P. Clodius.

sarciam] 'I will make amends for all that lost time': literally, 'I will make good the enjoyment of the time.' In the xii. tables *sarcito* is explained as *damnum solvito, praestato*, 'make good the loss of,' Fest. p. 322; it is used with *iniuriam*, Phil. ix. 8; cp. *studium infamiae sarcindae*, Caes. B. C. iii. 74.

invita Minerva] Cp. *crassa Minerva, pingui Minerva*. *Minerva*, the goddess of the mental powers and feelings, is put for them by metonymy, as *Ceres* for corn, *Bacchus* for wine, &c. See Cic. de Off. 110, for his explanation of *invita Minerva*, as meaning *adversante et repugnante natura*.

We may perhaps assume that Cicero proposed to buy a statue of Pallas from Appius, or perhaps expected such a pre-

sent from him. If this were so, having used the common phrase *invita Minerva*, 'against the grain,' he would go on to play on the word *Minerva*, adding, 'if I get a Minerva from your collection, I will call her not only *Pallas*, but *Pallas Appias*.' *Appias* is the name of the nymph of the fountain *Aqua Appia* (Ov. R. M. 660); and her statues are called *Appiades* (Ov. A. A. iii. 452). Appius was a well-known patron of the arts, and had perhaps promised Cicero a Minerva for his trouble.

Billerbeck thinks that Appius had asked Cicero to do him the honour of dedicating some work to him, as a return for the compliment he, Appius, had paid Cicero, in dedicating to him his *liber auguralis*, a treatise on the augural discipline. Cicero says he will do this 'with all his heart,' *non invita Minerva*, and that if he selects for the work to be dedicated to Appius the subject which Appius had himself treated (having possibly in mind his *de divinatione*, which, however, did not appear till some years after the death of Appius), then his Minerva (Pallas) will be *Pallas Appias*, 'an Appian good will.' This would be, indeed, a 'gomprensive joke,' like the German tutor's in *Vice Versa*. But 'difference of tastes in jokes,' writes George Eliot, 'is a sore trial to the temper.'

It may be that there is an allusion to the statue of Minerva, which Cicero dedicated on the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, just before he left Rome an exile (Merivale, i. 189). This might easily have got into the hands of the Claudian family, as Clodius certainly did not spare the pro-

si forte de tuis sumpsero, non solum Παλλάδα, sed etiam Ἀππιάδα nominabo. 2. Cilix libertus tuus antea mihi minus fuit notus, sed ut mihi reddidit a te litteras plenas et amoris et officii, mirifice ipse suo sermone subsecutus est humanitatem litterarum tuarum. Iucunda mihi eius oratio fuit, cum de animo tuo, de sermonibus, quos de me haberes cotidie, mihi narraret. Quid quaeris? Biduo factus est mihi familiaris, ita tamen, ut Phanium valde sim desideraturus: quem cum Romam remittes, quod, ut putabamus, celeriter eras factururus, omnibus ei de rebus, quas agi, quas curari a me voles, mandata des velim. 3. L. Valerium, iure consultum, valde tibi commendo, sed ita etiam, si non est iure consultus. Melius enim ei cavere volo quam ipse aliis solet. Valde hominem diligo: est ex meis domesticis atque intimis familiaribus. Omnino tibi agit gratias: sed idem scribit meas litteras maximum apud te pondus habituras. Id eum ne fallat, te etiam atque etiam rogo.

perty of his exiled enemy. Cicero may have had hopes of getting this statue back.

2. *subsecutus est*] 'seconded.'

3. *ita etiam si non est*] 'without, however, pledging myself for his knowledge

of law.' Cicero recommends Valerius the more heartily if not regarded in his capacity of lawyer; then follows the usual pun on *cavere*. Cicero has already spoken in a disparaging strain of Valerius as a lawyer, Fam. i. 10.

CLXXXII. FROM CICERO TO M. MARIUS

(FAM. VII. 2).

A. U. C. 702; B. C. 52; AET. CIC. 54.

M. Cicero M. Mario emptionis negotium ab illo sibi mandatum multum iocans diligenter se curaturum significat. Accipit Marii gratulationem de Planco Bursa sua opera condemnato.

M. CICERO S. D. M. MARIO.

1. Mandatum tuum curabo diligenter. Sed homo acutus ei mandasti potissimum, cui expediret illud venire quam plurimo. Sed *in* eo vidisti multum, quod praeфинisti, quo ne pluris emerem. Quod si mihi permisisses, qui meus amor in te est, confecissem cum coheredibus: nunc quoniam tuum pretium novi, illicitatorem potius ponam quam illud minoris veneat. Sed de ioco satis est. 2. Tuum negotium agam, sicuti debeo, diligenter. De Bursa te gaudere certo scio, sed nimis verecunde mihi gratularis. Putas enim, ut scribis, propter hominis sordes minus me magnam illam laetitiam putare. Credas mihi velim magis me iudicio hoc quam

1. *homo acutus*] Marius had asked Cicero to make some purchase for him, probably some work of art, at a sale of the goods of some deceased patron of the arts. But Cicero had been left one of the heirs of this person, so he says to Marius (ironically), 'you were a sharp fellow, to entrust the purchase to one whose interest it was that the sale should realize as much as possible. However, you were very knowing [ironically again] in fixing a price which I must not exceed. Now, if you had given me *carte blanche*, I should, in consideration of my regard for you, have made an arrangement with my co-heirs [to make the purchase on the most favourable terms]: under the present circumstances, as I know your price, I will put up a sham bidder, to raise the price,

rather than let it go below the sum named by you.' *Permittere* is 'to leave the matter to one's own discretion'; cp. Fam. xiii. 71.

2. *Bursa*] T. Munatius Plancus Bursa had been tribune the year before. He had distinguished himself as ringleader in the riots which followed the death of Clodius and ended in the burning of the *Curia Hostilia*. On the expiration of his office Cicero prosecuted him *de vi*, and secured his condemnation, in spite of the influence of Pompeius, exerted in his behalf.

nimis verecunde] 'you are too moderate in your congratulations, supposing that I undervalue my triumph because he is such a low fellow.'

morte inimici laetatum. Primum enim iudicio malo quam gladio, deinde gloria potius amici quam calamitate: in primisque me delectavit tantum studium bonorum in me exstitisse contra incredibilem contentionem clarissimi et potentissimi viri. 3. Postremo—vix veri simile fortasse videatur—oderam multo peius hunc quam illum ipsum Clodium. Illum enim oppugnaram, hunc defenderam. Et ille, cum omnis res publica in meo capite discrimen esset habitura, magnum quiddam spectavit, nec sua sponte, sed eorum auxilio, qui me stante stare non poterant: hic simiolus animi causa me in quem inveheretur delegerat persuaseratque non nullis invidis meis se in me emissarium semper fore. Quam ob rem valde iubeo gaudere te: magna res gesta est. Numquam ulli fortiores cives fuerunt quam qui ausi sunt eum contra tantas opes eius, a quo ipsi lecti iudices erant, condemnare. Quod fecissent numquam, nisi iis dolori meus fuisset dolor. 4. Nos hic in multitudine et celebritate iudiciorum et novis legibus ita distinemur, ut cotidie vota faciamus, ne intercaletur, ut quam primum te videre possimus.

inimici] Clodius, recently slain by the followers of Milo at Bovillae on the Appian Way.

iudicio malo quam gladio] 'I would rather [owe the fall of a foe] to a public trial than the sword of a private enemy, and have it attended by the triumph of a friend, rather than his exile': *gloria, calamitate*, 'are *ablativi modi*: see on cxxxi. § 4; *iudicio* and *gladio* may be regarded either as *ablativi modi*, or *instrumenti*. Whereas the death of Clodius was brought about by the sword, and with the result of the exile of Milo: this triumph was accomplished in due form of law, and scores a victory for Milo over his unrelenting foe, Bursa.

clarissimi] Pompeius.

3. *oderam . . . peius*] Cp. *odi male*, very common in the comic drama. Is it not quite possible that *male* should be taken with *odi*, not *consularem*, in Ep. xxvii. § 5, above?

magnum quiddam spectavit] 'he aimed at a big thing,' to overthrow Cicero, even at the peril of the whole State—these are generous words about a fallen foe.

simiolus] 'This ape, just to amuse himself, chose me as the object of his attacks, and persuaded some of my ill-

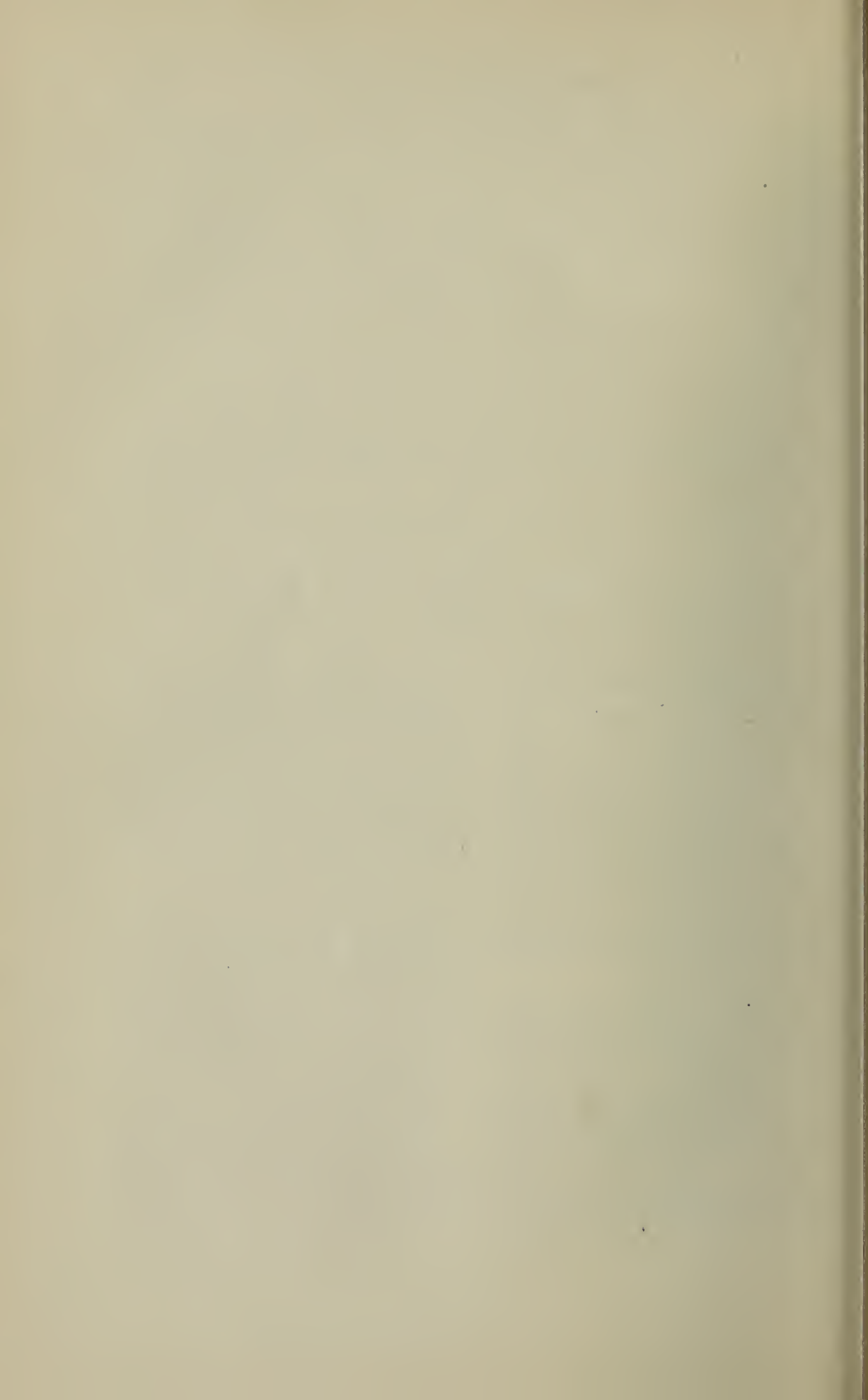
wishers that he would always be ready to be let slip at me.' I think *emissarius*, which generally means 'a spy,' 'scout,' perhaps here bears a different signification, such as I have given above. It may, however, mean a spy in the sense in which Cicero says of Vatinius, that he is always watching him, Ep. clx. 5. I find that Wieland (iii. p. 65) understands *emissarius* in the way which I prefer; his words are *sie würden ihn, so oft es ihnen beliebte, auf mich anhetzen können*.

a quo ipsi lecti] No doubt Pompeius selected the panel in this trial in the same way as he did in the trial of Milo, when he named from the senate *equites* and *tribuni aerarii* 300 jurymen, from whom 81 were then chosen by lot; the prosecutor and the accused were then allowed to challenge five jurors each from each of the orders, which left a panel of 51 to try the case.

4. *celebritate*] 'the crowds which throng the court.'

novis legibus] 'the new procedure,' introduced by Pompeius.

ne intercaletur] If the intercalary day were now, in the month of December, inserted by the pontifical college, it would put off the holidays in which Cicero hoped to visit Marius.



ADDENDA TO THE COMMENTARY.

NOTE I.

(FAM. VII. 23, 3, EP. CXXVI. P. 92.)

TRAPEZOPHORUM.

STARTING from the passage in the Digest, 33, 10, 3, pr. (suppellectili legata haec continentur: mensae, trapezophora, delphicae, subsellia, &c.), where the furniture of a house is in a way inventoried we find mention of three kinds of tables—mensae, trapezophora, and delphicae. Now, *mensae* are big dining tables, and *delphicae* are round tables on three legs: for one example, among many, to prove this, take *Procorpius* de bellis Vandalorum, i. 21, quoted by Marquardt (iv. 311): ἐν παλατίῳ γὰρ τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ἔνθα συνέβαινε στιβάδας τὰς βασιλέως εἶναι, τρίπους ἐκ παλαιοῦ εἰστήκει, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ τὰς κύλικας οἱ βασιλέως οἶνοχοοὶ ἐτίθεντο, Δέλφικα δὲ τὸν τρίποδα καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἐν Δελφοῖς γέγονε. These might require plenty of discussion, but such would be our conclusion.

Turning to *trapezophora*, its derivation is 'table-bearer'; but that it can be also used for a 'table' is plain from Pollux, Onomastic. x. 69: ἔξεστι δὲ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐφ' ἣ τὰ ἐκπώματα κατὰκειται, τετράπουν τε τράπεζαν εἰπεῖν καὶ μονόπουν καὶ εἴ τις βούλοιτο φιλοτιμεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν καινότητα τῆς χρήσεως ('to go in for the elegance of the new style') τραπεζοφόρον. And indeed also from the Digest (*l. c.*); for it is quite impossible that Paulus should have omitted such a common article of furniture as the *abacus*, which he has plainly comprehended here under the term *trapezophora*, for in strictness trapezophoron is the support of the abacus. Now abacus, in all its meanings (tablet of a pillar, baker's tray, draught-board, calculating board, wall-panel, or tile in tessellated pavement), signifies a rectangular flat surface, with, perhaps, a rim round it: cf. *coronae mensarum* in Dig. 34, 2, 19, 14, where the Greek translation gives τὸ κύκλον τῆς τραπέζας. In its sense of 'table' abacus was supported sometimes by four legs, sometimes by one (see Pollux, *l. c.*); the legs were usually of marble or ivory (Juv. 11, 122), but sometimes of bronze (Marquardt, *l. c.*). The fashioning of these legs was a distinct branch of sculpture: cf. Juvenal, 3, 203:

Urceoli sex

Ornamentum abaci: vel non et parvulus infra

Cantharus et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron.

The Chiron was the *τραπεζοφόρος*. Examples are also found in museums of sphinxes and griffins. The *δελφινὺς τράπεζα* of Lucian, *Lexiph.* 7, probably had a dolphin for the *τραπεζοφόρον*. The object of the abacus was to expose plate and ornaments (*Cic.* 2 *Verr.* iv. 35, and indeed *passim*: cf. Mayor on *Juv.*, *l. c.*, but he does not distinguish sufficiently sharply between the abacus and the *delphica*, which, though used for the same purpose, were quite different in shape), and, therefore, varied according to the size of the room, just like the cabinets for the same purpose now-a-days in drawing-rooms. Sidonius, 17, 7, says of them:

Non tibi gemmatis ponentur prandia mensis,
Assyrius murex nec tibi sigma dabit,
Nec per multiplices abaco splendente *cavernas*
Argenti nigri pondera defodiam.

What these *cavernae* were is disputed. E. Guillaume, in *Daremberg and Saglio's Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, Art. *Abacus*, gives a picture (fig. 7) of one with *shelves*, which he thinks the *cavernae* to have been. Des vases sont rangés sur deux tablettes; d'autres sont placés au-dessous. Les cavités formées par l'intervalle des tablettes sont peut-être ce qu'un poète . . . a appelé *cavernae*; but he goes on—à moins que l'on ne doive entendre par ce mot des casiers fermés, de véritables armoires comme celles qu'on voit sur le devant du meuble représenté plus haut (fig. 5). This last is the view of Marquardt, iv. 310, note 6, who refers to a picture of such a one, given by Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen* (ii. 42), which is, no doubt, a regular cupboard, with opaque doors. The difficulty I feel about such a view is that, while no doubt the words of Sidonius, *defodiam*, point to 'cabinets,' not mere tables with shelves, like our afternoon tea-tables; yet such cabinets would require glass doors, to let the ornaments be seen, and, as far as I can find, there is no proof at all that any had such. That transparent window-glass did exist is no doubt certain (cf. *Lactantius*, *De Officio Dei*, 8, 11: *Et manifestius est mentem esse quae per oculos ea, quae sunt opposita, transpiciat quasi per fenestras perluciente vitro aut speculari lapide obductas*); but most Roman window-glass admitted light, but was not transparent. Transparent glass was very expensive. On the whole, however, I am inclined to think that the abaci of the wealthy may have been cabinets, but in poorer establishments they were open tables, with shelves.

The use of abaci came into vogue at Rome after the conquest of Asia by Manlius Vulso, in 187 b. c. (*Liv.* 39, 6, 7). But before this the Romans must have seen them among the Etruscans—of whose abaci, of the fourth century b. c., we have some remains (*Guillaume, l. c.*)—and the Sicilian Greeks.



NOTE II.

(FAM. VII. 23, 3, EP. CXXVI., P. 92).

EXHEDRIUM.

Exhedra, -ae.—Such is the usual form of the word; the diminutive, *exhedrium* (or *exedrium*) is found here and in C. I. G. 2554, 123, τὸ ἐξέδριον τὸ κατανοτιαῖον. The earliest place I know where the word occurs is Eur. Orest. 1449; but the more usual classical Greek term for the building was παστάς: cf. Pollux, vii. 27, παστάδας δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἄς οἱ νῦν (180 a.d.) ἐξέδρας.

As its derivation seems to show, it was a *sitting place*. We generally find the occupants sitting (Cic. N. D. 1, 15); seldom reclining (De Orat. iii. 17, lectulo posito, points to the proceeding being unusual), built out from some main building (Varro, R. R. 3, iii. 8, uses the word for an aviary), chiefly from porticoes. They were generally open buildings, *perflatiles*, as a low Latin writer would say; cf. Vitruv. 7, 9, Apertis vero peristyllis aut exhedris aut ceteris eiusmodi locis quo Sol et Luna possit splendores suos immittere. They were often attached to baths, and their semicircular nature may be seen in any ground-plan of Caracalla's baths: see, e.g. Dict. Antiq. p. 194; also to theatres (corresponding to, only perhaps larger than, the splendid foyers in the Parisian and modern London theatres), e.g. that in the theatre of Pompeius, where Caesar was murdered, τῆς δὲ βουλῆς εἰς τὴν ἐξέδραν προεισ-ελεύσεως, &c., Plutarch, Brut. 17.

Their main use was for conversation, disputation, and the delivery of lectures. They corresponded entirely to our lecture-rooms in Universities and in large cities, e.g. Strabo, xvii. 8, τῶν δὲ βασιλείων (sc. of Alexandria) ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον ἔχον περίπατον καὶ ἐξέδραν καὶ οἶκον μέγαν ἐν ᾧ τὸ συσσίτιον τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ Μουσείου φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν; also Cod. Theod. 15, 1, 53, Exhedras quae septentrionali videntur adhaerere Porticui (sc. at Constantinople) in quibus tantum amplitudinis et decoris esse monstratur ut publicis commodis possint capacitatis et pulcritudinis suae admiratione sufficere supradictorum (sc. Professorum seu magistrorum) consessibus deputabit (sc. Sublimitas Tua). Each professor had a separate exhedra, or lecture-room: see Cod. Theod. 14, 9, 3, ita ut unicuique loca specialiter deputata adsignari faciat Tua Sublimitas: ne discipuli sibi invicem possint obstrepere, vel magistri: neve linguarum confusio permixta vel vocum aures quorundam aut mentes a studio litterarum avertat. They were often, too, used for disputations; cf. Vitruv. 5, 2, Constituuntur in tribus porticibus exhedrae spatiosae, habentes sedes in quibus philosophi Rectores (qu. rhetores) reliqui qui studiis delectantur sedentes disputare possint. St. Augustine delivers a lecture in one (Civ. Dei. 22, 8); and he also mentions one adjoining a church (De Gestis cum Emerito Donatistarum Episcopo sub init.), similar to the capitularia in the Monasteries (see Gothofred on Cod. Theod. 15, 1, 53).

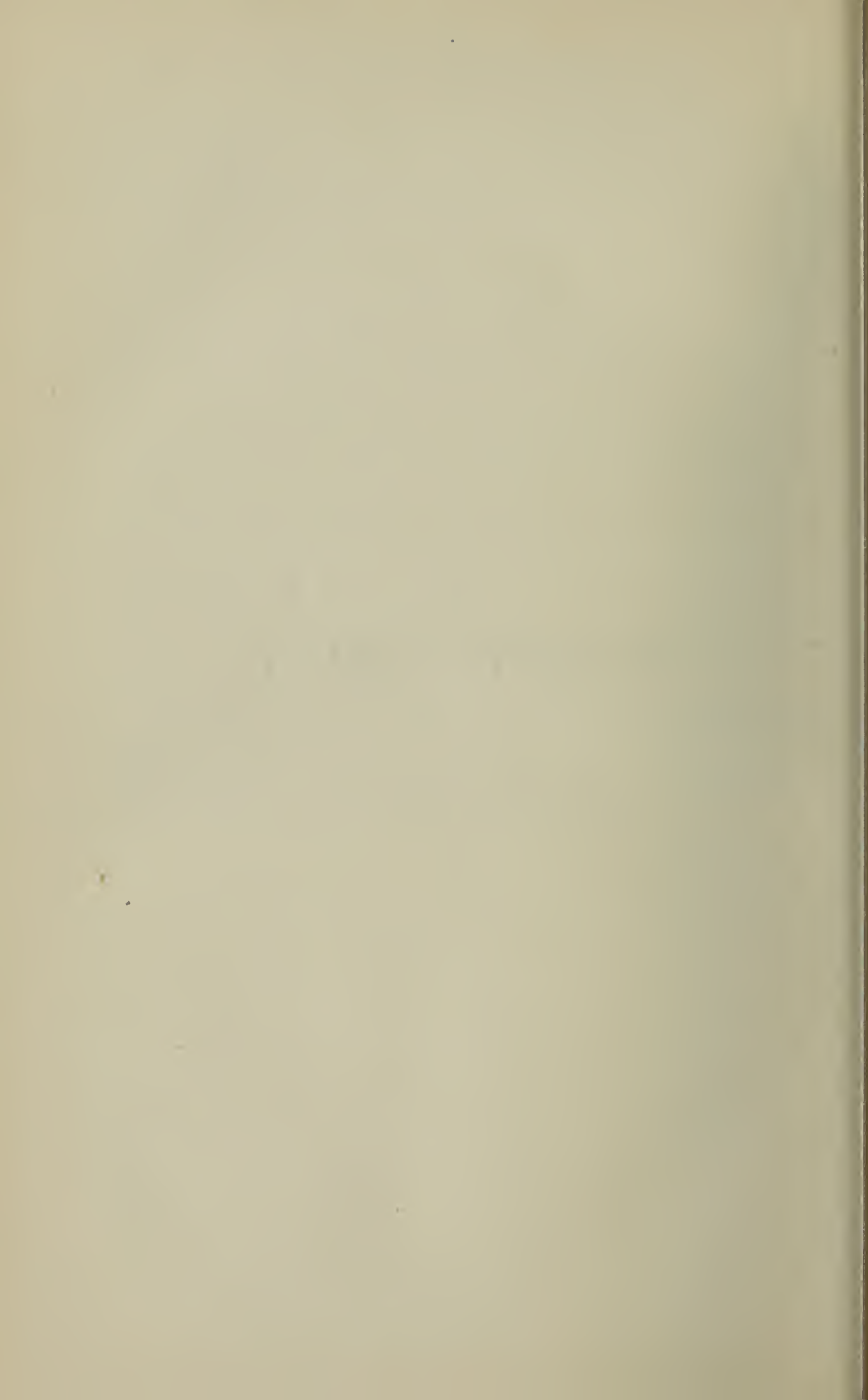
Exhedrae, or public lecture-rooms, were a very common form of public building to erect, e.g. Herod (in Josephus, B. J., 1, 16), Βύβλω δὲ τεῖχος καὶ ἐξέδρας τε καὶ στοὺς ἀνέθηκε; and often in Inscriptions (Gruter, lxxv. 3; clxxii. = Orelli, 3283, where, again, they are joined with porticus), we find their builders notifying the erection.

They appear then to have been essentially public; but examples can be found

where the word may mean nothing more than our 'sitting-room,' as opposed to 'bed-room' (cubiculum). For example, in a somewhat long title of the Digest (9, 3), where there are copious enactments as regards the liability of people who throw things out of the windows (*De his qui effuderint vel deiecerint*)—Ulpian (law, 5) gives us some knowledge of how people lived in lodgings. The passage is interesting, so it may be quoted: *Si vero plures diviso inter se cenaculo* [*i. e.* 'flat,' or 'story'; cf. *Plaut. Amph.* iii. 1, 3, where Jupiter says he is the fellow in *superiore qui habito cenaculo*, 'who lives in the top story.' *Cenaculum* later came to mean of itself 'an upper story,' and quite early had lost its sense of dining-room, as much as our 'drawing-room' has lost its signification] *habitent, actio in eum solum datur, qui inhabitabat eam partem, unde effusum est. Si quis gratuitas habitationes dederit libertis et clientibus vel suis vel uxoris, ipsum eorum nomine teneri Trebatius ait; quod verum est. Idem erit dicendum et si quis amicis suis modica hospitola distribuerit. Nam et si quis cenaculariam exercens* ('letting out houses in tenements, or flats') *ipse maximam partem cenaculi* (here = 'upper stories,' *τοῦ οἴκου*, in the Gk. translation) *habeat solus tenebitur: sed si* [*quis cenaculariam exercens del. Mommsen*] *modicum sibi hospitium retinuerit, residuum locaverit pluribus, omnes tenebuntur quasi in hoc cenaculo habitantes unde deiectum effusumve est. Interdum tamen, quod sine captionem actoris fiat* ('if not prejudicial to the plaintiff') *oportebit praetorem aequitate motum in eum potius dare actionem, ex cuius cubiculo vel exhedra deiectum est licet plures in eodem cenaculo habitent, quod si ex mediano* [so F.: *medio cenaculo other mss; ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου*, Gk. trans.: *maeniano*, Anonym. ap. Dirksen: *Qu. medio maeniano*, the copyist went on at the wrong *ι*] *coenaculi quid deiectum sit, verius est omnes teneri. Here 'exhedra' may mean 'sitting-room'; but Marquardt is wrong in saying that in Vitruv. 6, 3, 8, and 6, 7, 8, exhedrae must mean 'sitting-rooms.'*

Still, in Cicero's time, these *exhedrae*, in large houses, were special rooms for learned discussion. Only the eminent had them, as only the eminent have at the present time private chapels and private theatres. As is natural to expect, such rooms were adorned with statues (*Plut. l. c.*) and pictures (*Cic. Fam.* 7, 23, 3). In our passage then I should translate the diminutive *exhedria* 'private lecture-room.'

ADNOTATIO CRITICA.



ADNOTATIO CRITICA.

EP. XC. (ATT. IV. 1).

1. fuitque cui] *fuit qui* M¹; *fuit cui* M².

nec . . . observantia] Bosius; *nec etiam propter meam in te observantiam* MZl; *me etiam propter meam in te obs.* Hofm.; *inobservantiam* Madv.; vid. Comm.

potius] H. Stephanus; *totius* M.
timoris] Pius; *rumoris* M; *moris* Z.
2. si umquam] Meutzner; *numquam* M.
4. gratulatione . . . est] C; om. M.
honestissimis] edd. alii hic lacunam indicant, alii *decretis* inserunt; sed reperitur ap. Cic. *ornare* absolute positum, sine ablativo, e. g. *quem ornare antea cuncto cum senatu solebam* Deiot. 1, 2; cui qui nolunt idem tibi, quod cum ornasti, non sunt amici, Fam. i. 1, 3.

5. infimo] Lehmannus; *infima* codd.

6. continuo cum more] Btr.; *continuo more* M¹; *cum more* M².

populus] inserui auctore Boot.

EP. XCI. (ATT. IV. 2).

2. numquam] I; *umquam* M.
rei] ins. Kays.; *dolor et magn.* M; *dolor et rei magn.* Gulielmus; potuit intercidere rei inter dolor et et.

iuventuti nostrae] Vict.; *iubent uti nostrae* Zl; *iubent ut in nostre* M.

3. M. T.] Ursinus; *MI* M.
iam] M; *inani* Bos.; *nuntiante populo* FA; unde colligit *nuntiat hianti populo* A. Palmer.

4. tandem] Corrad.; *tamen* M; cf. Fam. iii. 9, 1.

tibi] M¹, quam lect. ego accepi et in Comm. defendi; *sibi* M²; *sivi* Madv.

porticum] seclusi; vid. Comm.

5. num . . . prof.] ego; *nam hoc quidem etiam profuisset* M; *nam hoc quid etiam profuisset?* Boot.

T.] seclisit Boot.

6. impedirer. Quod . . . sumpsisse] Hofm.; *impedirer quod nisi vellem mihi esset integrum aut petere possent votivam legationem sumpsisse* M.

prope . . . lucorum] seclisit Ern.; *lucorum* Bos.; *locorum* M.

7. facile] M¹; *non facile* M².

Te] ins. Man.

EP. XCII. (ATT. IV. 3).

te] RI; om. M.

aut scribuntur] *aut scribantur* M.

2. an nulli] Lamb.; *an ulli* M.

demens] Pius; *vehemens* M.

3. curare] Cobet; *curari* M.

praesens trudi] I; *praesens videri* M¹; *reservari* M².

eam quae est in Cermalo] Turneb.; *meamque ceramio* M.

Milonis] del. Cobet.

virii tuae] F; *virtute* M.

nisi anteferet] ins. L. Purser.

4. in campo] Mur.; *in campum* M.

delectas] Vict.; *deiectas* M.

contemptus] contentus M.

5. pauci pannosi] Kays.; *paucis pannosi* M; *paucis pannosis* Vict.

linea lanterna] Bos.; *sine alalanterna* M.

meo consilio] Man.; *eo conscio* M.

si . . . obtuleris] Kl.; *si se uti turbae iam obtulerit* C; *si sentitur veiam obtulerit* M; fort. *si se in turba ei obviam tulerit*; in voc. *ob-viam* syllabas forte transposuit librarius, ut in *comminuti*, § 6, ubi M *communiti* exhibet.

6. respondimus] Kl.; *respondemus* M.

EP. XCIII. (Q. FR. II. 1).

1. putaramus] Wcs; *putabamus* M.

duo cons. des.] post Glabrio Schut-
tium secutus transposui; haec verba ante
P. Servilius stant in M; *Servilius—Lepi-*
us bis exhibet M.

intelligere. Dixit Milo. Coepit] T. Mommsen; *intelligere dixit. Milo coepit* M; *in illo* pro *Milo* Man.

3. Vetus] Lamb.; *severus* M; *Sex. Vetus* Man.

EP. XCIV. (FAM. VII. 26).

1. fuisset] *fuisse* M, et idem mox perverse pro *linguore* contrario errore *linguorem*.

in quo] Ern.; *quod* M; *quo* alii. *στραγγουρικὰ*] Or.; *γγουρικα* M; *δυσουρικὰ* vulgo.

2. *διάρροια*] *διαργρα* M.

EP. XCV. (FAM. I. 1).

1. quia tu] Vict.; *qui* M; *quoniam* T; *quod* H.

conquiesti] M; *conquesti* T; *conquiesisti* H.

2. etiam liberius] T; *et iam* MH.

monere] MH; *movere* T.

tibi esse iratum] vel tibi uel *iratum spurium* est; pro tibi eleganter coniecit *tibicini* ed. anon. in c; vid. Comm.

3. reducas . . . possis] *deducas quod commodo rem facere possis* M; *deducas quod commode rem possis* H; *deducas quod commodo reipublicae facere possis* T, quem codicem sequuntur Crat. et R.

animadvertebatur] Lamb.; *nam advertebatur* MTH.

4. quod tibi debemus] M; *quo* TH, fort. recte; cf. enim neque haec eo scribo *quo te non . . . seiam* Att. iii. 15, 4; simili ratione ad Fam. i. 7, 8, *quia non solum* exhibet T, *qui non solum* M; *quo non solum* H.

amorem tui absentis praesentes tui] M; *am. tui absentis praesentisve* TH, quae lectio bonum sensum praebet, ita ut omnes cum *cognoscent* iungatur, et tui genitivus sit.

EP. XCVI. (FAM. I. 2).

1. tribuni pl.] *tiranni publico lentulo* M; *tyranni publici contentulo* T; *tiranni puplio lentuli* H.

permovere] Lamb.; *remove* MTH.

cui quidem] Lamb.; *cuique* MTH.

frequentes ierunt] *frequenter sierunt* M; *frequenter quesierunt* TH.

2. discessionem] MT; *dissensionem* H. id quod est factum] *id est quod factum* M; *idque est factum* T; *idemque est factum* H.

non] ins. Wes.

cupiebant] H; *cupierunt* MT.

3. dimissus est. Ego] Btr.; *dimissus et ego* M.

viderer] MT; *videret* H.

4. scripsi] MH; *ipsi* T.

a. d.] *ad* MT et sic saepissime.

erit actum] MT; *viderat actum* H.

agantur] T; *agatur* MH, fort. recte.

omni] Vict.; *omnia* MTH.

EP. XCVII. (FAM. I. 3).

1. A.] *at* T.

gratiosissimus] Lamb.; *gratissimus* MTH.

confidet his] *confiditis* MH; *confidit sine his* T.

2. liberos] *liberos* MTH.

T. Ampius] *tampius* M; *tam pius* T; *iam Pompeius* H.

EP. XCVIII. (FAM. I. 4).

1. relictum] MH; *lectum* T.

in magna var.] C, Ern.; *non magna var.* M; vid. Comm.

legem ullam] M. *illam* T.

id quod scis] M; *ob id quod scis* TH.

2. a tuis] MH; *ait tuis* T.

fictae] MH; *sicce* T.

quin] *qui* MTH.

sceleratissimo latrocinio] MT; *sceleratissimo tiranno latrocinio* H; hinc eruit Purserus meus veram archetypi lectionem, quam debui in textu exhibere, *sceleratissimo TRIBUNORUM latrocinio*; vidimus (Ep. xvi. § 1) *tribuni* sub *tiranni* latentem, et eundem errorem iterum in eadem epistola bis exhibent codices. Hic H unus servat indicium verbi quod valde requiritur ut verbo *populi* pro antitheto respondeat. Coni. suam Purserus optime vindicat coll. Q. Fr. II. 2, 5 *quid futurum sit LATROCINIO TRIBUNORUM non divino*.

satis mihi provisum] Martyni-Laguna; *satis improvisum* MTH.

salvis] om. T.

3. nonnullorum] MH; *nonnullarum* T.

vi excepta] *ut excepta* MTH.

EP. XCIX. (FAM. I. 5a).

1. erga] MH; *igitur* T.

experirere] M; *experire* TH.

2. eiusmodi] *eius* MTH.

sunt] MT; *sint* H.

magis quam perf.] MT; *magis de causa quam perf.* H.

resistimus] MTH; *resistemus* vulg.

3. polliceri me] MT; *pulcherrime* H. neque Selicio] MH; *neque nomen proprium silitio* T. in qua lectione notandum est egregium exemplum glossematis in textum ingressi.

iacere rem . . . delata] Martyni-Laguna; *iacere regem . . . delatus* MTH; *delata* habere dicitur Guelferb. quartus.

videamur] om. T.

4. gravitate positam] M; *se positam* TH; fort. *gravitate esse positam*.

quid] M; *quis* TH.

prudentiorem] MH; *prudenter est* T.

maiore] *maiorem* MTH.

amantiorem] MH; *amatiorem* T.

EP. C. (Q. FR. II. 2).

1. consularia habenti] Btr.; *consulibus habentibus* M.

Ego] Or.; *sed ego* M, quae lectio orta est a dittographia ultimae syllabae in *recogitasse*.

omittam] *amittam* M.

2. in] ins. Wes.

3. res] ins. Wes.

4. consendas] c; *commendas* M¹; *venire contendas* M².

EP. CI. (ATT. IV. 4).

fae] ins. Btr.

EP. CII. (Q. FR. II. 3).

1. prodicta] Drakenborch; *producta* M.

Lentulo] Man.; *lentuli* M.

2. peregerat] *perfregerat* Madv.; sine accus. dicitur *perfringere* Or. 97.

3. a. d. v. id. Febr.] Tunstallus; *ad vi* M, qui sine dubio aberravit ad numerum qui proxime antecedit in Scto.

ad a. d. vi] ego; *ad vi* M; *a. d. viii.* Man.; *a. d. vii.* alii: vid. Comm.

4. a. contionario] inserui a auctore Bootio (Obs. cr. p. 33), qui parvo additamento praepositionis, et levi interpunctionis mutatione mentem dedit inani sententiae.

in ea] M; *in eo* vulg.; lect. Med. vindicavi in Comm. q. v.

et magna] Mal.; *sed magna* M.

5. de] om. M.

adlegatos] M; *adligatos* vulg.; *edidit*

adligatos Wes.; *edidit ad alligatos* Madv.

† ista ei] M; *itaque rei facti sunt* Or.; *Bestiam* (vel aliud aliquod cognomen] Wes.; *Cn. Lentulum Vatiā et C. Cornelium instare* Madv.; velim ego chirurgia locum curare, vid. Comm.

6. praetorem] p. r. (ut saepe) M.

7. cuius modi tu mihi] Man.; *huius modi tu mihi* M; *huius modi ut tu mihi* vulg.

lacum] Boot.; *lacum* M et vulg.; recte monet Boot. (Obs. cr. p. 33) *lucos* non hominis nomine sed Dei Deaeve designatos fuisse, *lacus* autem in quavis parte urbis exstitisse (e.g. *lacum Servilium*, Rosc. Am. 89) hominum nominibus insignes.

Luciniana] M; corrigas, sodes, *Luciniani* in textu, quae forma per errorem typothetae irrepsit; *Liciniana* Man.; *Lucceiana* Or.

Lamiae] Man.; *Camiae* M.

Olbiensem] *uibensem* M; *Vibiensem* R; *iubentem* T.

EP. CIII. (FAM. I. 5b).

1. agantur . . . acta sint] *aguntur . . . acta sint* TH; *aguntur . . . acta sunt* Kleyn.

acta . . . ea] MH; *facta . . . ex* T.

a. d. viii.] *at octavo* M; ix T; iix Or.

iactatus] *iaetus* MTH.

detraxit] MT; *detraxerit* H, quae est plane lectio difficilior eoque magis probanda; vide ne eo sensu *detraxerit* accipiendum sit quo si scripsisset, 'invenies nihil tibi detraxisse senatum.'

dari] *elari* T, inter *el.* et *d.* sollenni errore.

2. ut . . . reducatur] MH; *aut reducant* T.

speresque fore ut] MH; *speresque ut* T.

levissimi] *lenissimi* T.

EP. CIV. (FAM. I. 6).

1. capio] M; *cupio* TH.

tuorum] seclusi ut ex dittographia ortum.

2. quam mea] *mea salus* Aldus, coll. Fam. i. 5a. 1.

adflcta est] Vict.; *sit* MTH.

es cognitus] MT; *est cognitus* H, fort. recte.

illustrabit] MT; *illustrabat* II.

EP. CV. (Q. FR. II. 4).

1. homini] O. Müller; *homine* M.
2. ceteroquin] Wes.; *cetero* M.
- Latiar erat] *erat Latiar erat exiturus* M; depravatio exorta est ex praepostera paginarum dispositione; *exiturus* pertinet ad Ep. cvi. § 2. Secutus sum designationem Mommsenianam huius libri epistolarum.
3. etiam nunc] Haec verba post *excitem* transposui.
5. sic] *id* M.
- unus est] M; *optimus* ins. Büch. coll. Q. Fr. ii. l fin.
- [In] secluit Boot (Obs. cr. p. 34).
6. imprudentia] *prudentia* M.
- Clodio] Man.; *coelio* M.
- ei] *et* M.
- teterrimo] Sch.; *deterrimo* Bentivolius; *deterrime* M.
- ferunt homines] R; *fuere* MI.
- inimicorum] R; *munitorum* MI; *nummariorum* conl. Or. coll. pro Cluent. 75.
- ad populum] Wes.; *a populo* M; *cum populo* vulg.
7. atqui] Btr.; *atque* M, vulg.
- Olbia] Man.; *ostia* M.

EP. CVI. (Q. FR. II. 5).

1. contionali] *contione* M; *contionalem* marg.
2. iacentem] *iacentis* M.
- a. d. vii.] Wes.; *ad vi* M.
3. fidem] Vict.; *idem* M.
- Luci eum] Th. Mommsen; *lucium* M; *Luceium* vulg.
4. a. d. vi. Id.] Wes.; *ad y idus* M.
- conscripi, eramque] Btr.; *conscripteramque* M¹; *dictaverum scripseramque* M².
- in Anagnino] *in agnino* M.
- prodicta] Vict.; *prodicta* M.

EP. CVII. (ATT. IV. 4b).

1. mirificam] M²; *mirifica* in M¹, vulgari errore; tali modo in Ep. xxv. 2, supra, pro *malam* cod. Pogg. *in alam* exhibet.
- bibliotheca] secluit Kays.; om. A, F.
- velim] RI; *vellem* M.
- σιλλύβους] Graev.; *sillabos* M; *syllabos* RI.
- λόχον] Bos.; *locum* M; *ludum* Ern., vulg.; vid. Comm.
- liber esses] Pius; *liberasses* M.

EP. CVIII. (ATT. IV. 5).

1. ain' tu? me] Boot (coll. Seyff. ad Tusc. v. 35, et Wes.); *ain' tu meme* A. F.; *ain' tu an me* M; *an me* (sine *ain' tu*) l.
 - mea legi] *me ad legem* M.
 - resipui. Dices] marg.; *res ipsi* (corr. *ipi*) *iudices* M.
 2. catenus te suasisse, qua] Kl.; *ea tenuisse suasisse, quae* M; *ea te monuisse, suasisse quae* T et vulg.
 - facercm] Pius; *feceram* M.
 - nequa] Vict.; *neque* M.
 - liceret] Vict.; *licet* M.
 - ὑποθέσει] ΑΠΟΘΗΚΗ M; *ἀποθεώσει* R; fort. *ἀποθέσει* = *in mea abdicatione partium optimatum*; in hoc sensu adhibetur *ἀπόθεσις* apud Appianum et alios.
 - scripsi. Erimus] *scripsimus* M.
 - a Vettio me emisso] Bos.; *a Vettio emisse* FA; *aut etiam emisse* M.
 - qui domum] *quid domum* M.
 - si quibus] Pius; *sed quibus* M.
 - finis sit] Graev.; *finis. sed* M; *sed finis sit* Boot.
 3. me asinum germanum fuisse sed iam] Corrad. et Mur.; *me ast num germanum fuisset. Iam* M; *me. ast num germanum fuisset?* *Iam* C, qui hic editoris vice fungi velle videtur.
 - Tu 'de via . . . hortos' ego; 'tu de via . . . hortos' Boot.; *Tullia de via . . . hortos* Sch.
 - constructione] M, Wes.; *constrictione* Hertzberg, frustra; vid. Comm.
 - sillybis] Graev. Wes.; *sit tybis* M¹; *si scribis* M² I; *sic tu iubet* R.
- EP. CIX. (FAM. V. 12).
1. deterruit] MH; *destruit* T.
 - ostendisti te] Ern.; *ostendis te* MTH.
 - exspectatum] *exispectatum* M.
 - vivi] M; *tui* TH.
 2. rerum] om. T, et paullo inferius *res post reliquas.*
 - ut cogitares] *ut cogitare* M.
 - Phocium] Wes.; *Phocium* Westermann.; *troicum* M.
 - seiuingeres. Equidem] H; *se iungeres* T; *seiuungere se quidem* M; *seiuungere. Equidem* Or., male.
 - ad nostram] *ut nostram* MTH; fort. *ut ad nostram.*
 - impudenter] *imprudenter* M.
 3. eum] om. T.
 - suavissime plenissime] hoc habet H; illud MT; duo verba posuisse videtur Tullius. Vid. Comm. ad Ep. cxviii. § 1.

te deflecti] H; *te deflectum* T; *te effecti* M; fort. *te effecti*.

demonstras] *demonstrans* M; *demonstramus* TH.

4. reditum] *creditum* T.

varietatem] *et varietatem* T.

in legendo, te scriptore, retinere] Graev.; *in legem dote scripto retinere* M; *in legendo te scriptore tenere* T; *in legendo scripto rem tenere* H; *in legendo tuo scripto retinere* Or., male. Lect. Graevianam habet M, nisi quod verba perperam divisa exhibet et *re* ante retinere omittit.

non fuerunt] *non om.* T.

secura] *om.* TH.

5. ille] *illud* T.

qui tum] *Quintum* T.

percontanti] *percontente* T.

aequo] *atque* T.

Themistocli fuga redituque] M; *fugam reditumque* TH; *fuga exituque* Kays.; *fuga interituque* Ferrar.; *Themistocli exsilio aut Alcibiadis fuga redituque* Sch.; fort. *Themistocli fuga*, Coriolani fuga redituque. *Reditusque spe* Boot. ad Att. iv. 6 fin. Vid. Comm.

etenim ordo] *tibi enim credo* T. Vides quam saepe dormitet codicis Turonensis librarius in hac epistola exscribenda.

at] *aut* T.

notabili] *notabili* M.

concluduntur] M; *excluduntur* TH.

6. actus mutationesque] Madv.; *actus multasque actiones* M.

ne assentatiuncula] *ne ad cenatiunculam* T.

cum] *quam* MTH.

qui quid sis] *qui ins.* Crat.; *quid sis* M; *quiquid sis* TH.

commendando] *commendabo* T.

7. fictam imaginem] *fictam tam imag.* MTH.

impertitum] *impertiti* T.

Hector ille] *hoc corille* T.

8. impetraro] Wes.; *impetro* MTH.

quidquam] *qui cum* MTH; *quicquam* Btr.

et praetereant] *ut* T.

denique] M; *etiam* TH.

verecundiores] *ne recondiores* T.

9. mirere] *merere* M.

10. interea] *in terra* T.

EP. CX. (ATT. IV. 6).

1. non nullo] Lamb.; *non multo* M. vestri sed mehercule] Mal.; *vestris mehercule* M.

mihi aliquo decorum] *mihi aliquid eorum* M¹; *mihi decorum* M².

servitutum] C; *virtutem* M.

†communi fueris nonne] M; *communi frueris nomine* Pius; *communi uteris nomine* Kays.; *communi tu eris condicione* Kl.; *communi servis nomine* Wes.; fort. *communi frueris*. Nonne? Vid. Comm. Cogitaram de *cum una fueris noris*, i.e. 'cum me conveneris scies nullam te habere propriam servitutum, me autem habere.'

2. nequiquam] Btr.; *ne quicquam* M; *nequidquam* K.

ὁπαδοί . . . ταγοί] Vict.; ΟΠΑΟΙ . . . ΤΑΤΟΙ M; οπλαται . . . togati R.

reliquum iam] Or.; *reliquia* M.

ista improbem] M; *ista ne improbem* Sch.; *ista probem* alii; lect. Med. in Comm. vindicavi.

meliuscule Lentulo] Vict.; *melius que lentulo* M¹; *melius-p. lentulo* M².

ferrei] M²; *ferri* M¹; *servi* Vict. et Wes.; *miserrimi* Kl.

3. in incipiendo] C. F. W. Müller: *incipiendo* M; *ab incip.* Wes.

qui videor] Lamb.; *quod video* M; *qui videar* Ern.

occultior] M; *oculatio* (quod reperisse se fingit in Y) Bos.

satisfactio] *satis facito* M¹; *satis facete* M².

4. quam misi] M²; *nunquam misi* M¹; *nunc quam misi* Mal., vulg.

EP. CXI. (ATT. IV. 7).

di irati] *durati* M.

conturbat et idem] Büch.; *conturbaret quidem* M; *conturbare quidem* K.

2. civis] *cuius* M.

qui quidem . . . tibi nummi] Mal.; *quid quidem tibi nummi* M.

quemcunque] *quaecunque* M.

fecerit] Lamb.; *fecit* M.

improbum] I, Sch., Wes.; *improbe* corr. in *improbi* M.

quamquam fuit] *quemquam: fuit* M; signa ἀποσιωπήσεως post ipse affixi ego.

3. praesidia] M; *praedia* Vict.

ἐμπάξeto μίθων] 'EMITZETO MTΘON M.

quid superest? Etiam: puerum] Man.; *quod superest. Etiam puerum* M.

EP. CXII. (ATT. IV. 8a).

patina . . . raudusculo] Vict.; *patinaty rotari chinamperaudusculo* M; *nam peravidusculo* C.

μέγ'] MT M.

τ. ἰδης] ΤΕΛΕΤΗΣΑΝΤΙΑΣ.

alsius] *salsius* M.
 εἴη μοι οἶκος] Peerlk.; ΕΙΜΗΣΗΤΩ
 M; εἴη μισητός Bos., vulg.
 φίλος οἶκος] Vict.; ΦΙΛΟΣ ΚΟΣ M.
 2. mens] C; *mensa* M.
 postquam sillybi libros] ego; *post-*
quam misit libros M; *postquam mi sittybis*
libros Bos. (sed *sittybae* libros illustrare
 non possunt, *constringere* vel *continere*
 possunt); *postquam sit tibiae libros* Zb.
 illustrarunt. Vale. Tu scribas] Boot.;
illustrarunt valde. Et scribas M; *ill.*
Valde scr. Or.; *ill. Vale et scribas* Gron.
 si se gessere] Mal.; *sie egisse* M.

EP. CXIII. (FAM. V. 3).

1. ab] om. T.
 homine, a me] *homines a me* MTH.
 persona te] *persona a te* M.
 2. ne] om. T.
 Lollium perscripsi] *nollium pracscripsi*
 T.

EP. CXIV. (FAM. I. 7).

1. facile] *facere* T.
 rarius] M; *minus* TH.
 audeam] *ad eam* T.
 2. unum] *unde* T.
 memores] MTH; *immemores* Or.
 male.
 officii] M; *officio* TH.
 3. a me] a om. M; a me om. TH.
 senatu] om. T.
 fuerunt] *fuerint* MTH.
 suae cupiditatis te] *suae cupiditatis*
tuae MT; *suae cupiditatis et tuae* H;
 fort. *suae cup. et tuae te.*
 perspectus] MT; *perspectum* H.
 4. sic habeto] HT; *si habeto* M.
 sit] TH; *sint* M.
 intercessum esse] *est* T.
 perspicere] M; *perficere* H; *videatur*
 T.
 loco] *logici* T.
 per te] *parte* T.
 5. possis] M; *possit* T; *possit* H.
 iudicare] M; *iudicari* TH.
 posse] om. T.
 collaudere] M; *collauderis* H; *col-*
laudare T.
 interpositam] om. T.
 video] *in deo* T.
 certam] *terram* T.
 6. videbitur] *videtur* H; fort. *vide-*
atur.
 placebat] M; *placeat* TH.
 imperium . . . pecunias] Vict. et
 Crat.; *imperii tui provincias* MTH.

praestitisset] *prefuisset* T.
 regionem] *religionem* H.
 scire oportere] *optere* M; *optare* Hofm.
 7. de vetere] *de devertere* MTH.
 diuturnaue] *diurnaue* TH.
 nostrae] M; *nos* TH.
 8. quo] H; *qui* MT; *quia* Or.; fort.
quod.
 quae per te] *quod parte* T.
 favisti] Schol. Bob.; om. TH; *pre-*
fuisti M.
 invisum] *visum* T.
 vitia] *initia* TH.
 noluerunt] *voluerunt* T.
 me] om. TH.
 9. ego moneo] Koch.; *emoneo* M;
et moneo et rogo Wes.
 expressiora] *expressura* T.
 meditare] *me dicere* T (solito errore
 inter t et e); *meditare* H.
 sentias que] *sententiasque* T.
 quae quidem] M; *qui quidem* TH.
 aut sine causa] *ut sine causa* T.
 reliqua] M; *re qua* TH.
 10. contentio] *sententia* T.
 qui plus] *quibus* TH.
 profecisse] *perfecisse* MT.
 tantum] *tamen* T.
 ne] *nec* TH.
 eo ad te] M²; ego M¹TH.
 me status] *me . . . status* M; *iam me*
status T; *stratis* H.
 cognovi, id ut tu tuis] Kl.; *cognovit.*
Utuis M; *ut tuis* H; *tu ut tuis* Or.; *tu*
tuis Hofm., sed post *admoneo* non reperit-
 ur apud Cic. modus coniunctivus sine ut.
 11. erudias] *erudiaris* H.
 est filius] *esset filius.*

EP. CXV. (FAM. XIII. 6a).

2. adhibetur erga] H; *adhibeturga* M.
 3. postulat et] *postulat . . . et* M.
 incredibile] H; *incredibili* M.
 4. expertus esses] MH; *expertus essem*
 Or; *expertus esse* Madv.
 quia mihi Cuspius dicit] *quia amicus*
pius dicitur H.
 diligendis] *diligendis* H.

EP. CXVI. (FAM. XIII. 6b).

has] ins. Or.
 te rogo] *te* om. H.

EP. CXVII. (Q. FR. II. 6).

1. Olbia] *vibia* M.
 me absente etenim . . . erat. Ante quod]
 Th. Mommsen; *me absente est enim . . .*

nostra eram ante quod M; me absente, est enim . . . nostra. Eram Antii. Quod vulg.; me absente; est enim ἐλίκριν ἐς iudicium; sine oppugnatione, sine gratia nostra damnant Madv.

EP. CXVIII. (ATT. IV. 8b).

1. Apenas] *Aperias M.*

quid] *quod M.*

tibi] *ins. Kays.*

οὕτως ὅμοιον γέγονεν] *ΝΟΥΤΩ ΟΜΟΙΟΝ*

TETONHN (cum dittographia, et solita inter Γ et T, inter E et H, confusione).

nostrae] *Man.; nostra M.*

quod ab eisdem] *C; quo dabis dein M.*

3. scivi] *scivit M.*

quid? sinas?] *Man. quid sinat? M.*

remorit] *Ern.; removit M.*

4. τὴν ξέω γραμμὴν] *Man.; THN*

ΕΩΓΡΑΜΜΗΝ M; τὴν ἔσω γραμμὴν vulg.; et teneam (omissis verbis Graecis sine spatio) *R; et in eo . . . teneam I.*

ex Fabio] *Btr.; et fabio M.*

id ipsum] *et ipsum M.*

EP. CXIX. (FAM. I. 8).

1. actum] *auctum T.*

ullum] *illum T.*

amantissimi] *amatissimi T.*

communium] *communionem T.*

hac] *H; haec M.*

2. me pietas] *me dietas MH¹; medietas T; me dignitas M².*

putasti] *putavi H.*

conformo] *confirmo MTH.*

a quo] *H; quo M.*

desisterent] *H; destiterent M.*

3. cui vel maxime] *cui om. H.*

lubet] *iubet TH.*

sublata tota sunt, nec] *Madv.; tota si nec MH; tota sive H.*

4. meditere] *meditarer H.*

si quidam] *sed quidam T.*

5. et eo tu] *ut eo tu TH.*

se ipsum] *Graev.; te ipsum MTH.*

6. idque cum] *id quaecumque MTH.*
sedulitate . . . possum] *sedulitate mihi metepsum satisfacere non possim MH; sed utilitatem mihi me ipsum satisfacere non possim T.*

7. pertinebunt] *pertinebant MTH.*

EP. CXX. (Q. FR. II. 7).

1. de nostra Urania] *Mal.; de non curantia M.*

2. suscepit] *suscepi M.*

ad] *ins. Man.*

3. contra] *ins. Sch.—*

EP. CXXI. (ATT. IV. 10).

1. putaras] *Wes.; putabas M.*

obl. deseror vol.] *Bos.; obl. deseror et voluptatum M; obl. deseror et voluptatibus vulg.; et voluptatum tacedet Kays.*

2. quae] *que M¹; quoque M²; quaeque marg.*

Cyrea] *Vict.; circa M; circa alii.*

cum poterit] *M; quum poteris vulg.*

EP. CXXII. (ATT. IV. 9).

1. impediunt] *A; impendant M.*

homine] *homine ne* (per dittographiam) *M.*

iactans] *lactans M.*

suavissime hercule est effusus] *C; et effusus M; suavis mehercule et effusus Vict.*

in Cumanum. Etsi nihil] *Boot.; at si nihil M; in Cumanum a se. Nihil Bos.*

2. tecum haberes] *Man.; secum haberet M.*

apud Paetum. Ante] *Wes.; apud laetum ante M.*

EP. CXXIII. (Q. FR. II. 8).

1. essem] *essent M.*

interpellare?] *ego; interpellare* (sine nota interrogandi) *vulg.*

au te Ateius] *ante a te is* (superscr. uteis) *M; interpellare. Antiates mehercule Madv.*

videris] *Lamb.; videbis M.*

mea factum est insulsa] *Vict.; in ea factum est infusa M.*

ἀναντίλεκτον] *αντικτον M.*

contieui] *contieuit M.*

Cicerones] *Man. ceteri omnes M.*

2. video . . . πάσας] *Schutzio auctore post de rep. § 4 transposui.*

3. videbimus] *videmus* (fort. recte) *M.*

habemus] *haberemus M.*

†araysira] *M; ab area Cyri Ern.; ab area Cyrea Lall.; fort. ab arca Cyrea sive ab arcula Cyrea. Vid. Comm.*

4. tantum] *tamen M.*

nimum . . . doleo] *haec verba post nunquam . . . πάσας stant in libris et editionibus aliis. Transposui ego.*

EP. CXXIV. (ATT. IV. 11).

1. Crassum a] *cras numa M¹; crasinum a M².*

esse] *et se M.*

2. γλυκύτερον οὐδὲν] *ego, ut versus sit senarius primo pede carens; οὐδὲν*

γλυκύτερον M; οὐδὲν γλυκύτερόν ἐστιν Man.

ἡ πάντ' Vict.; ΗΠΑ M¹; ἡ πᾶν M².
a te fiat] ante fiat M.

eduxi] C; duxi M.

desit . . . delector] desit; ita ab isto
puero delector Madv., coll. Att. i. 19, 2,
ubi ex per ortum erat pueri.

tu Lucecio] ut Lucecio M.

EP. CXXV. (ATT. IV. 12).

Antii] FA; ante M.

praesto esse posse: Idibus enim] Lamb.;
praesto esse; enim auct. M; praesto: esse
enim auct. R: praesto esse: idibus enim
auct. Z; sed idibus fort. prava est lectio
ab iduum (pro quo M vitiose iduum ex-
hibet) exorta; malim praesto esse posse:
esse enim auctionem.

promovebo] Kays.; promonebo MZ;
praemonebo Mal.; promerebor Gron.

EP. CXXVI. (FAM. VII. 23).

Fadio] Pighius; Fabio MTH.

1. nomina] omnia T.

postulare] postulerent MTH.

2. quanti . . . non aestimo] qu. quanti
(= quantuli) . . . aestimem (omisso non).
sumpsisti] sumpsisse MTH; videris
. . . sumpsisse Kays.

erat] erant M.

at pulchellae] a pulchellae T.

3. destinas] destinares T.

habebo] habeo MTH.

exhedria] exhadria M; ex adria TH.

istiusmodi] istius in omni T.

vecturae] nec ture T.

4. mandaram] Ern.; mandabam M.
sorore eam porro] sororem meam posse T.
vir] om. T.

primum] premium T.

ut non] aut non T.

si . . . scias] si quid egero faciamus
scias M; si quid ergo faciamus scias H;
si quid igitur faciamus si es T.
facies] TH; facias M.

EP. CXXVII. (FAM. VII. 1).

1. aliqui] M; aliquid T.

ex illo cubiculo] MTH; in illo Lall.;

lect. codicum in Comm. vindicavi.

†Stabianum†] obelis notavi; vid.
Comm.

Misenum] Lamb.; senum MTH: ex
quo tibi tablinum perforasti et patefecisti

sinum Boot. (Obs. Critt.); ego malim
ex quo tibi istud maenianum perforasti et
patefecisti Misenum; e villa Marii non
potuisse conspici Misenum pro certo
habet Bootius; sed neque hoc certum est,
neque potuisse conspici declarat Cicero,
qui dicit Marium patefecisse Misenum, id
est, prospectum usque ad Misenum aperu-
isse. Vid. Comm.

lectiunculis] MTH; spectiunculis Kl.
comminus mimos semisomni] Madv.;
communes MH; communi minosensus omni
T.

tibi ipse] tibi ipsi T.

2. si quaeris] sequeris T.

muli in Clyt.] moli temestra T.

creterrarum] MTH; craterarum vulg.;
cetrarum Graev.

3. Oscos ludos] ludos om. T.

vestro] M; om. H; nostro T.

novi vidimus] non vidimus T.

4. ego tamen] ergo tamen T.

taedebat] cedebat T.

ambitio] abitio M; habitatio T.

non defendere] non om. T.

5. plane exsolvar] plene exsolvar T.

te . . . commentaris] et ipsum quid . . .
commentaris MH; et ipsum quod . . . com-
mentares T.

obire] orbire T.

EP. CXXVIII. (FAM. XIII. 74).

memoria] memoriā (i.e. memoriam)
MH.

mihi feceris] mihi om. H.

EP. CXXIX. (FAM. XIII. 40).

tractaris] H; tactaris M.

EP. CXXX. (ATT. IV. 13).

1. quid dico] quod dico M.

ergo et si irata] M; ergo, ut sit rata
Asc.; ego, ut sit rata Lamb. Fort. ego ut
sitio rem ita.

afuisse] fuisse M.

et quo] et equo M¹; equo M².

σκυλῶν ΣΚΥΛΑΜΟΝ M; σκύαμον C;
hinc κύαμον (suffragationem) Corrad.

quantum potest. Valde sum] quantum
pote. val. sum M.

2. minore] minorem M.

item iterum] Büch.; item T. terum
cons. s. M.

diu multumque] diū ultūque M¹; di-
minutumque M².

atque etiam] ins. Sch.
 τυπωδῶς] ΤΥΠΟΔΩ Μ.
 veniam] M²; veniat M¹C.

EP. CXXXI. (FAM. V. 8).

quantum a. d. . . meum] Kl.; *quantum ad meum* MTH; *quantum meum* vulg., male.

angendae] *agendae* T.
 quod silentio] *consilio* T.
 reddidi] *reddi* T.

2. pestes hominum laude aliena dolentium] *pestes hominum laude aliena dolentium hominum* M.

perspici posset] T; *perspici potest* MH.

eximia] T; *existimia* MH.
 consiliis monitis] om. T.
 populusque Romanus] *populusquer* M.
 ea cum] om. T.

4. eximium] *exium* M.
 in Marcum ben. pari] Or.; *in marco benevolentiam pari* MTH; *in Marco benevolentia impari* Ern.

5. utantur] om. T.
 quod eius] *quod eis* TH.

EP. CXXXII. (Q. FR. II. 9 (11)).

3. a Magnetibus] Vict.; *a mag* M; *magis* R.

4. ita . . . artis] M; *lita* pro *ita* R; *non ita sunt* Vict.; *non multis luminibus* Ern.; *non multae artis* Kl.; *multae etiam artis* Or.; *ut scribis ita sunt, multis luminibus ingenii: multae tamen artis esse cum inveneris, virum te putabo; si Salustii Empedoclea legeris, hominem non putabo* H. A. J. Munro.

cum veneris . . .] *signa aposiopesis* apposui.

EP. CXXXIII. (Q. FR. II. 10 (12)).

1. pipulo convicio] ego; *populi convicio* M; fort. malit quis *pipulo ac convicio*; sed huiusmodi *asyndeton* in epp. Cic. saepe occurrit. Cp. *studiis, beneficiis*, Fam. vii. 5, 1, et vid Comm.

2. discusseram] *discusserat* M.
 quod erat positum] *quod erat, positum* Sch.; eius ins. ego.

Euphrati Zeugmate] Btr.; *euftrati et eugmate* M; *Euphrate, Zeugma* Lamb.; *Euphrate* Man.; *Euphrati* ζεύγματι malim ego.

3. Quod vult] M; *quod non vult* Lamb.; *quod nos vult* Sch.

renovari] Or.; *renovare* M.
 qui Bostrenum] Or.; *quibus rhenum* M.

5. Locum] M; *iocum* edd. omnes, male; vid. Comm.

EP. CXXXIV. (FAM. VII. 5).

1. me . . . quae ad me] *verba haec omnia inter me et me* om. T.
 profectionem . . . tardare] om. T.
 velle] om. T.

2. M. itfinium] M; *M. idfinium* TH; *Rufum* C; *M. Orfum* Vict.; *M. Rufum* vel *Mescinium Rufum* Sch.

3. mi Caesar sic] *me Caesar si* T.
 singulari] T; *singularis* M.
 ullius] *illius* T.
 libertatem] *liberalitatem* T.

glorior] *glorioso* T.
 putidiusculi] HM; *impudentiusculi* marg.; *pudiusculi* T; *pudentiusculi* I. Ad sensum optime convenit *impudentiusculi*; cf. *subimpudens*, Fam. vii. 17, 1 (Ep. exlvi.).

quamquam] Ern.; *quam* M.
 verum] in voc. *verum* latere *per eum* suspicatus est Freius; *per hunc* Boot. qui sic locum constituit *sumus enim putidiusculi, quod per te vix licet, per hunc utique licet*. Vid. Comm.

EP. CXXXV. (Q. FR. II. 11 (13)).

1. discingor] M²; *distingor* (solito inter *c* et *t* errore) M¹; *enim distringor* marg.

2. taeter et] M²; *te tenet* M¹.
 Tyriis] marg.; *tyrrus* M¹; *Syriis* M².
 etiam] Madv.; *tamen* M.

L. noster] Man.; *C noster* M.
 3. dare] F; *dari* M.
 omnia . . . deficit] *omissa* in M¹, *ad-* dita sunt in margine.

4. volutatum] M²; *voluntatum* M¹.
 quem . . . sunt] *uncinis inclusi*.
 Siculus] Vict.; *secutus* M.
 quod] R; *quo* M.

EP. CXXXVI. (FAM. VII. 6).

1. cum aliquo insigni indicio] *cum in aliquo insigni iuditio* T.

profectus] *affectus* T.
 ignoscemus] *ignoscimus* T.
 patria procul] *patriam procul* T.
 cavere] *canere* T.
 non quit] *nequit* T.

EP. CXXXVII. (FAM. VII. 7).

1. commendare] *cons. dare* T.
 a Quinto] *aque* (ut saepissime) T.
 adferuntur] C; *afferantur* M.
Habes] ins. Btr.; idem verbum post
lib. inseruerat Vict.; post *singularem*
 Crat.
 liberalissimum] *liberalissimam* T.

EP. CXXXVIII. (ATT. IV. 14).

1. putari] *Asc.*; *putare* M; [*putare*]
 Sch.
 dixeras] F; *dixerat* M.
 2. tu velim] A; *ut velim* M.
 festive] M²; *festine* M¹.

EP. CXXXIX. (Q. FR. II. 12 (14)).

1. earum] *Lamb.*; *quarum* M; [*qua-*
rum] Ern.
 me . . . oblectabam] *me oblectabar* M;
 fort. delendum est *me*, ut ortum ex *in* per
 dittographiam (*in* et *me* inter se confun-
 duntur saepissime), et legendum cum M
oblectabar.
 2. si licet] M; *scilicet* vulg.; lectionem
 Mediceam in Commentario vindicavi.
 producendo] M; *perdocendo* Man.
 frustra.
 3. per se nec.] Btr.; *pernecessarium*
 M.

EP. CXL. (FAM. VII. 8).

1. quam . . . futurum] M; *perquam*
mihi gratum esse futurum Kays.
 studii] *studio* T.
 cognovi praeproperam] om. T.
 2. istam] *tam* T.
 debere. De eo] *deberodeo* T.

EP. CXLI. (Q. FR. II. 13 (15a)).

1. Blandenone] M; *Laude* (i.e. *Laude*
Pompeia, oppido Galliae prope Placentiam)
Nonis Sigonius; sed, falsa est, ut iudicat
 Bootius, Sigonii coniectura; nam sic
 tempora litterarum a Quinto datarum et
 a Marco acceptarum inter se conciliari
 nequeunt; coniecit ipse *deinde alteras pos-*
tridie datas Laude una cum Caesaris litteris.
 Sed quis potest statuere nullum fuisse
 vicum Blandenonem prope Placentiam?
 Multa locorum nomina semel tantum oc-
 currunt.

magna vel] *vel magna vel* M; fort.
 recte.

- eius] *marg.*; *tuac* M.
 tu scribis] Or.; *ut scribis* M.
 3. concipere posset] Hic novam epis-
 tolam incipit M.

EP. CXLII. (Q. FR. II. 14 (15b)).

1. bono] ins. Wes.; fort. *acri* (= *acuto*)
 quod voc. ante *atramento* intercideret po-
 tuit: copula et facile careo.
 dentata] M²; *dum tanta* M¹; *pumi-*
cata Or.
 2. genuine] M¹; *gemine* M²; *germane*
 Kl.; *ingenue* (coll. Fam. v. 2, 2; Att.
 xiii. 27, 1) Boot.
 utrum . . . an] Kays.; *utrum voles ut*
dixerimus M; *utrum huc advoles ut dixeris*
(dixeras Wes.) an Sch.
 aut plane] Wes.; *plane aut vulg.*
 laborant mei consc.] Kahut.; *laborant*
quod mea consc. M; *laboramus consc.* Sch.;
laborandum de confidentia Wes. (Em. Alt.
 p. 71); *labat antiqua mea consc.* Madv.
 3. e re tua] ins. Madv.; *magis addidi*
 ego, ut ratio corruptelae appareret; Wes.
 primus verba *pertinere ad nostram digni-*
tatem vel alia eiusmodi excidisse suspi-
 catus est.
 explicationem] Sch.; *expectationem* M;
expeditionem Tunstall.
 pro nostris] Btr.; *quo nostris* M.
 4. fuit . . . triente] Vict.; *fuit paridi*
quintanus fuit SZ ex ZZ M.
 Memmii] *marg.*; *memini* M.
 quae est cum Dom.] ego; *est quo cum*
Dom. M; *Coitione Memmii coniunctus*
est cum D. Wes.; *quam cum Domitio*
fecit Sch.
 Scaurus utinam vinceret] ego; *Scaurus*
unum vincere M; *Scaurum ut vinceret*
 Sch.; *Scaurus unus studet vincere* Madv.
 quingenis] Vict.; *q̄* M.
 quae quidem] *queque* M.
 potuerit] Faernus; *fuert* M.
 omnes leges omnesque iud.] M²; *omnes*
que iud. M¹.

EP. CXLIII. (ATT. IV. 15).

1. iunctus] *marg.*; *vinctus* M.
 gratum est Eutychedem] Büch; *gratum*
si Utichidem M; *gratum si Eutychedes*
cognosceet vulg.
 tuam . . . et suam] Büch; *tuam*
erga me benevolentiam cognosces suam M²;
tuam erga me benevolentiam cognossi iam
 M¹; *tua erga me benevolentia cognosse suam*
 Btr.

a tot tuis] I; a totius M¹; a totis tuis M².

rhetor] cum Bosio Or.; praetor M.

3. avere] M²; habere M¹.

ἡμερολογῶν] C; ΗΜΕΡΟΛΕΤΔΟΝ M. fere] Vict.; forte M.

4. A. d. III.] Boot.; a. d. III. vulg. τρισαραιοπαγίτας] Bos.; tres ἀρεοπατίτας M.

[debemus] uncis inclusi auctore Wes.; codd. A et F verbum omittunt.

occidi] Sch.; occidere M; fort. occidere reum nolle.

diserto] deserte M; diserte R; deserto T.

crimnans] criminans me Madv.

verita] Man.; veritas M.

ne . . . offenderet] c; ne animum publico offenderet M; ne nimis in Publico offenderem coni. Or.

5. Reatini me] erat inime M; erat minime I.

duxerunt] dixerunt MRI.

monte, in] M²; montem M¹.

siccata sed] I; siccata et M; siccata at Landsberg.; sed confusio creberrima inter sed (set) et et.

qui etiam] Corrad.; quin etiam MC.

6. veni in spect.] Mal.; veni spectaculum M; veni spectatum Graev.

operam. Is erat] Vict.; operam miserat M.

nihil tam . . . verum haec] Bos.; nihil tam verum. Hec M.

Astyanax: in] Vict.; astya nam in M; astra nam in marg.

dilata] delata M.

7. consules] consulem M.

amici, sed] Vict.; amicis sed M.

coitio . . . obsunt] coicio consulis. pompeius absunt M¹; coicio consulis. pompeius absens est M².

ea com.] ex comitia M¹; ex comitiis M².

damnatus esset] est M.

et compet.] et a compet. M.

8. fore] in fore M.

omnes leges] ins. Wes. coll. Ep. quae hanc praecedit.

legarat] Asc.; legerat MC.

Velinam] uillam M.

10. roges . . . veniat] Vict.; roges ut te hortetur quam primum venias.

possit] C; possis M.

EP. CXLIV. (ATT. IV. 16).

Secutus sum reliquarum libri quarti ad Att. epistolarum dispositionem Mommsenianam, de qua vid. Comm. et Boot. vel Btr.

1. quod erant] Mal.; erat M; quod erant abs te post vel . . . recte esse transposuit Sch.; temere, ut docui in Comm.; alii [quod erat abs te].

Buthroto] Man.; bruto M.

crebritate] egregie Wes.; celebritate CM¹; celeritate M² et vulg., sed celeritate epistolarum missarum non est cur Cicero delectaretur.

et oratione et re] ego; ratione et verbis et re M; et verbis et re vulg.; sed verbis est gloss. in oratione quod verbum saepe cum re ut antitheton iungitur. Vid. Comm.

2. ita] ins. Wes.

Aristoteles] a discolis M.

ἐξωτερικὸς] extericos M.

3. sed feci idem quod in] k; sed fecit idem in M² Kl. et alii. Sed melior est verbi sed ratio secundum priorem Klotzii ed.

habetur] Boot.; haberetur M.

magis] Ern.; satis M¹; satius M².

ea qua eum esse] Büch.; ea quam esse M¹; equum esse M².

alienus . . . studiis] alienus ad scevola est vi diis M¹.

ioculatorem] C; ioculatorie (sed rie in rasura) M.

4. Piliae] Sch.; filie M.

venditabo] CM¹; vendicabo M².

sit] ins. Wes.

5. Proclilio] Man.; prelio M.

hi consules] Boot.; hic consules M.

non mihi videtur] Th. Mommsen.; non mihi ut detur M.

6. ut Dom. valeat] ut domitius ut valeat M.

non nihil grat.] Wes.; non gratissimo M; etiam gratissimo Sch.; non minus gratissimo Kl.

7. muratos] ego; miratos M; munitos vulg.; vid. Comm.

8. texerat] Wes.; texerit CM¹Zl; textit M²; texuit vulg.; erexerat Kl; refecit Boot. (Obs. Critt.).

in] ins. Wes. auctore Bosio.

forum] C; eorum M.

at . . . Romanas] Wes.; ad quid id laboramus res romanas M; quid? celabo te res Romanas? Bos.

†Coctia] M; Plotia Asc.; Cincia Sch.

fiunt] Boot.; fiant M.

9. interesset] interesse M, fort. recte, ut infin. pendeat ex videbatur.

ipsum: nihil ut abires] Kl.; ipsum mutabis M; ipsum: ut ab vis Mal.; ipsum: ut a tuis Ern.; ipsum: ut abis, et mox abes pro abesses Bos.

reditus tui] Asc.; reditus tuus M.

EP. CXLV. (FAM. VII. 9).

1. cum Quinto fratre] *cumque fratre* MTH.

quo mitterem] M; *committerem* TH.
luctum] Vict.; om. MTH, *occupationem*
 (ex Fam. vii. 10, 1, suppletum) Or.; sed
 T habet sex modo litterarum capacem
 lacunam.

quod huc] *quid huc* MTH; *Vacerra*
 Crat.

2. Battara] MT.

3. quidam] Ern.; *quidem* MTH.
 summo . . . filius] *versiculum deper-*
ditae alicuius fabulae agnovit Schneide-
win; sed ille verba *familiaris* . . . *filius*
poetae tribuit.

invitavit] HT; *invitat* M.

EP. CXLVI. (FAM. VII. 17).

1. pace tua dixerim] *ut pace tua dix-*
erim TH; *pace tua dixeram* M.

alienissimum est sub.] *alienissimus et*
sub. HM; *alieni sumus et T.*

nummum adhuc nullum] *ullum* MH;
ullam T.

2. voluptate] M; *voluntatem* T.
 ex adolescentia tua] *et adolescentia*
tuam M; *et adolescentiam tuam* TH.

quoad] M; *quod* TH.
 detulerim] Lamb.; *attulerim* M.
 grate accepit] ego; *grate et accepit* T;
ita et accepit M; fort. *quod ille ita et accepit*
(et mihi saepe litteris significavit et tibi et
verbis et re) ut ostenderit mea commenda-
tione sese valde esse commotum.

nactus si me] *nactissime* MTH.

expectato] *expectatio* MT.

3. Q.] *que* T.

EP. CXLVII. (Q. FR. II. 15 (16)).

quidem] ins. Or.

et colamur] Man.; *ex colamur* M.

3. eram] Lamb.; *aderam* M.

4. Athenas noctuam] M; *γλαῦκ' εἰς*
Ἀθήνας Crat.

5. utitur] *utimur* MRI; fort. recte,
 vid. Comm.

me amabo] MRI; *te* cum Aldo Or. et
 vulg.; male.

scribe] I; *scribere* MR.

EP. CXLVIII. (Q. FR. III. 1).

1. cum amoenitate] *cum amoenitate tum*
salubritate Ern.

Mesceidum] R; *in excidium* M, sed
mesceidum infr. § 3.

2. neque fere] *neque* om. M.

vel . . . locum] Sch.; *vel honestate testu-*
dinis vel valde boni aestivum locum obtinebit
 M.

cubiculis] Lamb.; *cubiculi* M.

3. nundinis] *Bentivolius*; *nuntiis* M.
 silva † viridicata] M; *viridicata* R;
viridicante Ern.; *silva ridicata* Or.; *silva*
vitium ridicata Kays; *silva viridi auctam*
 Boot.

retinere] *re sine re* (superscr. *resinere*)
 M; *rescindere* C.

habui. Is se] marg.; *habuisse se* M.

4. passus] Kl.; *passum* M, et (quod
 mireris) Btr.

id mutabitur] Wes.; *et mutabitur* M;
 fort. *et mutat iter vel et mutatur iter.*

ducere] *seclusi* ego; potest *ducere*
 subintelligi.

Is unus] ego; *velvinum* M (*velles* bis
 scriptum voc. *unus* depravavit); *Velvinus*
 vulg.; sed *Varro* debet intellegi; *Belli-*
enus Madv.

probe] Em.; *prope* M.

5. constitueras] Em.; *constituebas* M.

philosophia] *philosophia* M.

topiarium] *topariam* M.

7. mihi . . . mecum fuisset] M; om.
 edd. omnes *mihi*; vid. Comm.

otiosus] Lamb.; *otiosum* M.

10 illi . . . patiuntur] Man.; *illi qui*
sibi negari me non facile patiuntur molesti
sunt sibi negari me non facile patiuntur M
 (verbis *negari me non facile patiuntur*
 priore loco deletis).

11. oratione] *ornatione* M.

placere me ad eam rescribere] F; *place-*
rem eadem re scribere M.

13. paene] ins. Wes.

14. vergit] marg.; *vertit* M.

absum] Lamb.; *adsum* M.

sic] ins. Wes.

putem] *puto* Kays.

16. coitionibus] *cautionibus* M.

18. neque] ins. Madv.

nescio] ins. Boot.

iudicio] *malim officio.*

20. se verissimo] Or.; *severissimo.*

iuvares] *iurares* M.

21. tam inhumaniter] *tam humaniter*
 M (*in* excidit post *m*, quae littera saepe
 pro *in* apparet, et *in* pro *m*).

numquid] Lamb.; *nunc quidem* M.

23. [de se] de epistolis] *de se de epulis*
 M; pro [de se] de epulis coni. Madv. de
sedeculis; sed quae fuerint ignorat.

dedidicisse] ins. Wes. Em. Alt. pag.
 74.

24. introierat] Wes.; *introierit* M.

ἐμβόλιον] *embolium* M.
exercitum] *exercitus* M.

EP. CXLIX. (ATT. IV. 17).

1. nunc] *Pius*; *non* M.
mei] *C*; *tui me* M.
quoniam] *Or.*; *cum* M. In hoc loco iam paenitet me tam longe errasse cod. Mediceo. Debui legere, *puto te existimare non oblitum consuetudinis et instituti tui me rarius ad te scribere quam solebam; sed quoniam . . . video . . . neque Athenas . . . dedi.* Hic est sensus: '*pro certo habes, ut puto, me ad te scribere rarius quam solebam, non propter oblivionem tuarum epistolarum frequentiae; sed quoniam . . . video . . . neque Athenas . . . dedi.*'

quoquam] *ins.* Kl.; *om.* *neque post Asiam* ceteri edd.

cae] *ins.* Lamb.

quid ne] *ins.* ego: *vid.* Comm.; *lepidum quo excidat* M; *lepidum quo exedar* Bos.

2. suusque comp.] *suus repetitor* M.
uti ambo] *utinam ambo* (ex dittographia) M.

qui se adfuisse] *qui sequi se adfuisse* M.
ea die] Kl.; *quidem fuisset* A; *quidem adfuisse* M; fort. *cum omnino ne senatus quidem a. d. . . . fuisset.* Confusio inter ad et a. d. in Med. creberrima est.

tabulis] *tabulas* M.

3. hoc iacet] Th. Mommsen.; *cociace* M.

Caesari displicere] *Caesari despicerem* M; *Caesurem despiciere* Kays.

decernit] M; *decrevit* vulg., *perperam.*

†ERANT OMNIBUS†] ego; *erunt ex omnibus* Kays.; fort. *essent ex omni* S. (= *senatu*).

sortita] M; *sorte ducta* Boot.; sed *sortita* vetus est loquendi genus quale in legibus solet esse.

Veientor Rantius] Buech. cum M¹; *ueietor Antius* C; *victorantius* M².

cedit] A; *cidit* M; *sedit* vulg. male; *cecidit* Madv.

rettulerunt] Wes.; *detulerunt* M.

si qui] *qui si* M.

esse e rep.] Bos.; *censere* M.

4. partem] *patrem* M; *pro parte mea* Heinrich.

haec die scripsi] *hec descripsi* M.

leges] Gron.; *legeres* M.

spem habes non nullam] *rem habes nullam* M.

erat futurus] Boot.; *fuerat futurus* M.

ibi loquetur] *tibi loqueretur* (ex dittogr.) M.

libere] *C*; *liber* M.

5. si] *om.* M.

quos tu dilaudas] *Vict.*; *quos studio laudas* M.

EP. CL. (Q. FR. III. 2).

2. hostium caesorum] *hostium* vulg.; *hostiarum* M; sub—*arum latere caesorum* censet Wes.

saucius] ego; *atius* M; *undique actus* Man.; *undique agitatatus* (vel *exagitatus*) Wes.; sed mea lectio longe propius abest a libris; adeo vulgaris est into *t* et *e* confusio, ut plurimis locis in Adn. Crit. referre supersederim. Si vel limis codicem quemvis inspexeris, millesimus hic tibi error obversabitur. Quod superest, *aciis* ad *saucius* proxime accedit.

o di!] M²; *hodie* M¹.

me teneo] *me* *ins.* Wes.

accedat] Sch.; *accidat* M; *commode accidat* Kays.

3. magno] Lamb.; *magna* M.

iacet] *tacet* M.

nomina data] 'Testes non nominantur, et saltem debuerat scribi *nomina edita*. Appius non solum accusavit Gabinium, sed conviciis exagitavit. Id ita dici potest: *nomina odiosa data*' Boot. Obs. Cr. p. 37. Malim *omnia nomina data*, si locus sollicitandus est.

recte est: ipsa] Wes.; *recte et ipsa* M.

EP. CLI. (Q. FR. III. 3).

1. †sed . . . rustica] M; *sed tua paene ad tectum.* Iam *res rusticas* Lamb.; sed *expolitio* non potest *paene ad tectum* (pervenire); et *tua perfecta iam res rustica*, vel, *tua paene perfecta.* Iam *res rusticas* Wes.; fort. et *tuae perfectae.* Habes *res rusticas* vel *Iam habes res rusticas.*

practerea . . . via] *Vict.*; *preterea ad ea qua de via* M.

2. quattuor omnes] Wes.; *quattuor*; *omnes* vulg.

Sulla filio] Man.; *Syllae filio* M.

3. fiet] '*quid fiet de Gabinio*' Man.; *quid fiat de G.* M.

caeditur] *laeditur* Madv. qui *testibus caedi* nihil omnino esse statuit.

illi] Man.; *illum* M.

4. summe studiosus] Wes.; *summo studio* M.

Quare . . . inducemus] Interpunctionem Wesenbergianam secutus sum.

EP. CLII. (Q. FR. III. 4).

condemnatus est] Kl.; *c. sit.* M.
in ullo] R; *in nullo* M.
diribitis] Man.; *diruptis* M; *diremptis*
vulg.
6. [discendi non lusionis] ut gloss.
seclusi.
cum vellem] Wes.; *quam vellem* M.

EP. CLIII. (FAM. I. 9).

1. ipsum . . .] om. T.
nomen] om. T.
erga te] om. H.
diuncti] M; *iuncti* H; *vieti* T.
2. usus esses] *usus est* H.
mirificum] M; *mirificam* T H.
fractam] M; *factum* TH.
debilitatam] MT; *debilitatem* H.
3. mercede] MH; *me recede* T.
tempus dari] *te minis dari* H.
4. Hic novam ep. inchoat H.
adseribis] *ad* TH.
evento] ins. ego; vid. Comm.
aliquo] MTH.; *alicui* Or. et vulg;
male: vid. Comm.
consule] M; *consulem* TH.
vidisti] M; *audisti* TH.
5. necessariae . . . minimi] M; *neces-*
saria et amena meminini T; *necessarias*
amena me H.
quam] M²; *cum* M¹ TH.
6. quodam iudicio] M; *quondam*
iudicio H; *quodam amore* T.
pristinis permanebam] M; *pristini*
spernebam TH.
7. cum ut] om. H.
Sestium] M; *festium* TH.
Vatinius me] om. T.
me eam] M; *eam* TH.
victoriisque anteferre] *victorisque a*
me ferre H.
quo] MTH; *qua* Man. et vulg.
exire dome] *exire de domo* H.
vi de auspiciis] *vite auspiciis* H.
8. invadere] M; *evadere* H; *invasere*
T.
putaram] M²; *putarem* M¹ TH.
9. offensum] *ostensum* (et sic saepe) T.
sua merita] MT; *sua maxima merita*
H.
recepisset] M; *precepisset* TH.
eiusse] om. TH
cuius] om. TH.
commendaret] *commodaret* H.
10. Vibullium] *bibulum* H; *in bibulum*
T.
memoremque] *memor* T.
habuisset] *habuissent* H.

sermone] om. T.
quae ego agebam] *quem* H.
aiebant] M; *agebant* TH.
osculabantur] *occulabantur* T; *occula-*
bant H.

perdidi sed] *perdidi set* H; *perdidissem*
T.

circumspectis] *circum inspectis* TH,
sed vide ne *circum inspectis* sit lectio codi-
cum; vulgaris est in codicibus error scri-
bendi *istatio* pro *statio*, *exispectare* pro
exspectare et alia eiusmodi.

11. et Cinneis] H; et . . . *meis* M;
et cumeis T; hic sine dubio H veram lect.
servat, quam eodem tempore eruerunt
Purserus meus, et O. Streicher, qui prior
inventam publici iuris fecit (C. Comment.
philol. Ienenses, vol. III. p. 140). Vid.
Comm.

princeps esset vir, is qui] ego auctore
Wes.; *princeps esset, vir is qui* vulg.

fautor] *factor* T.

praetura] *praefectura* H.

cumque idem] *quecumque idem* TH.

meumque inimicum] *in eumque inimi-*
cum T.

unum . . . inimicum] om. T.

12. et Quinto] *atque* (ut semper) TH.
liberalitas] *libertas* H.

praesertim] MH; *que* T.

in hac mente] M¹TH; *in hanc mentem*
M².

iacata iam] Btr.; *iacata* M; *iacata* TH.

memineram] *memor iam* T.

consules] M; *consulem* TH.

13. caput] *apud* H.

mirificus . . . consensus] Kl.; *mirifi-*
cus et incredibilis . . . consensus TH; pro
Italiae totius H habet *Italiae et octio*;
mirifica . . . consensus M; unde *mirifica*
. . . consensio Or. Btr.; sed magis con-
gruit cum codd. ratio Klotziana.

reliquerunt] *relinquitur* T.

armatis] *amatis* T.

potuissent . . . sed] om. H; *p. r. T.*

14. fuerant . . . salute mea] om. H.;
locum habet T simul et *salute mea* omis-
sis.

recreatis enim bonis viris] MH; *re-*
creati enim in boni viri T.

excitatis] *exercitati* H.

15. ille fur] Lamb.; *illa furta* MTH;
illa furia vulg.; fort. *illa furia, fur.*

tribunus plebis] *tirranus publico* (puplio
H) *lentulus* MTH.

a seditioso] om. T.

civi] *cui* T.

locatio] *locutio* T.

imperfectum] *infectum* T.

16. afuerit] *affuerit* H.

curarit] *curaret* MTH.

factum fractum] ego; *fractum* M;
factum HT

quae] Ern.; *quem* M; *cum* vulg.
me universa . . . duce senatu] *meum*
versa . . . duces sese natu T.

octo tribunis] Sch.; *omnibus* MTH.
hominibus] *omnibus* TH.
recuperavisset] *recipere licuisset* H;
rec. curasset T.

17. *alienioribus*] *a levioribus* T.
non obscure] *nunc obscure* T; fort.
non nunc obscure.

desciscere me a] *desciscerem* H; *desciseer.*
in pristina T.

tum hoc] *tu in hoc* (= *tum hoc*) H;
tam in hoc T.

nonnumquam] Vict.; *nunquam* MTH.
sensu] MTH; *sententia* Man.; *male*;
vid. Comm.

18. *idem*] *eidem* TH.
auctorem . . . contendere] M²; *aucto-*
remque hortatum contendere M²; *optarem*
te hortatum condere H; *optarem te hortatum*
contendere T.

nec nisi cogendo] L. Purser; *nec per-*
sudendo nec cogendo MTH; *totum locum*
cum . . . vidisset, damnat Streicher; *ita*
constituit Boot. cumque eum nec suadendo
nec cogendo regi posse vidisset, cui *persua-*
deri posse diffideret, eum *cogi fas esse non*
arbitraretur.

tenebar] *tenerem* H.
cuivis bono recta] M; *civibus bene*
recta H; *civium bono retia* T.

res iniret] L. Purser; *res miret* (= *ini-*
ret) H; *res in ira* T; *res gereret* (quae
lectio librarium aliquem temere divinan-
tem redolet) M.

discesserim] *discerem* H.
esse cuius] M; *es secutus* T, *essecutus*
H.

devinctum] *devictum* H.
tam] *tamen* T.

19. *cum illum defenderem*] *quam pro*
eum, ut saepe, H.

illa dicet] om. H contra metrum.
par pro pari] *pro* om. H. contra metrum.
deis . . . approbantibus] M; *de his*
hominibus quae adprobem tibi H; *perverso*
ordine cede crasso de hiis omnibus que
approbam tibi habes T.

20. *contriveram*] *conteram* TH.
exarsi] hic deficit H. Incipit denuo ad
Fam. II. 1, 2 *quodque in omnibus tuis rebus.*
insciente me fuisset] *fugisset* T.
nutu] ins. Ern.

eum se maxium] *cum pro cum* T.
tum cepisse] *tum cepisse denique* T.
a meis laribus] *amicis laribus* T.
apud . . . hortis] *apud mei ge generi*
hortos T.

21. *magna illius*] *magna illius magna*
T.

nec perm.] *nec* om. T.

voluntatibus] *voluptatibus* T.

laudata] *laudanda* T.

non queas . . . eum tenere] om. T.

cursum] *sursum* T.

alius essem] *aliud* T, fort. recte.

mihi tum] *in istum* T.

22. *tam erit*] *tamen erit* T.

23. *multae*] *multo* T.

diiungo me] *me* om. T.

nunc] ins. Wes.

disp.] Wes.; *in disp.* MTH.

Isocratium] *in socrateam* T.

delectationibus] *delectationis.*

24. *mihi commendas ea*] om. T.

te priore] *et priore* T.

scito] *cito* T.

familiarissime] *familiaris me* T.

25. *consuli*] *consilii* T.

quoad] *quod* T.

etiam qui si] *etiam et si* om. T.

provincias] Wes.; *provinciam* MT.

eum sine] *cum* om. T.

cupiditatis] *pietatis* T.

possis] *possit* T.

refutare] *resmutare* T.

26. *litteras quibus*] *Frustra in quibus*

legunt edd. plerique: cf. enim Fam.

IV. 15. 1, *litteras quibus id quod scire*
cupiebam cognoscere non potui.

felicitate] MT; *facilitate* vulg., male.

quadam] Gron.; *quidam* M; *ea quid*

T.

mitiges] *mitias* T.

EP. CLIV. (ATT. IV. 18).

gesserim] *cesserim* M.

γοργεία γυμνά] Bos.; ΠΟΡΠΑΠΤΜΝΑ
M.

2. *fers? belle mehercule*] *ferre vellem*
Hercule M.

pristinæ] Wes.; *pristinam* M.

fers? id] *ferri* M.

isti] Gulielmus, quem sequuntur Boot.,
Wes.; *ista* M. vulg.

trahantur] Mal.; *trahuntur* M.

συμφιλοσοφῆσαι] Btr.; ΕΝΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΗ-
ΣΑΙ M.

habitabat] M; *habitat* Nonius quem
sequitur Boot.

concalluit] Vict.; *concaluit* M et Non.
nemo] *nemo enim ΔΕΠΠΙΣ in terris* M¹;
nemo enim δέππις in ceteris M².

3. *fluit*] Man.; *fuit* M.

indicia] MZl; *iudicia* vulg.

4. *etiam*] Acid.; *et tamen* M.

e Sopolidis pictoribus] Bos.; *solidis*

pictoribus M; solidis pectoribus R; ropolidis pictoribus Zl.

†resp. lege] M; reus P. (= Papia) lege Bos. Madv., qui sedem mendi esse in dixit statuit, temere conicit itaque eluxit (= lugere cessavit) statim respublica legem maiestatis; vertas 'went out of mourning for the (unavenged breach of the) law of maiestas.'

ΟΥΣΟΙΜΠΙΣΑΜΑΦΙΗΙ] M; οὐ σ' οἶδ' Ἄρης ἄμα Παφίη Bos., frustra, ut docui in Comm.

praetores] pretor M.

aperte] ad portam M.

5. datas . . . Octobr.] post tamen pecunia habet M; transposuit Kl. proximis] Boot.; proximo M. e Britannia] A; e om. M. nostri] Man.; non M. ulla] nulla M. cum dies venerit] M; quo die veneris Mal.

EP. CLV. (Q. III. 5, 6)

1. saepe] mihi suspectum est. Fort. ut saepe vel caepi . . . mutare.

factis] facilis M¹; feci M².

est a me] est tamen M.

P. Rutilii] ins. Wes. coll. Att. iv. 16, 2. in maximis] in ante m om. M.

ea visum iri ficta esse] marg.; ea visum mirifica esse M¹; ea visu mirifica esse M².

qui essent] Wes.; quod esset M.

2. commovit me] commovi me M.

[tecum] seclui ego.

refictos] ego; relictos marg. et vulg.; redditos M.

3. perscripsi] Buech.; perscripsit M. tamquam] quam M.

4. ΑΜΠΩΕΙΣ] M; υποθέσεις Vict.; ἀνατυπώσεις Or.; fort. ἐμπνεύσεις.

debat] Man.; debet M.

πολλὸν] Vict.; πολλὼν M.

5. ut puto] ut me puto M.

viderunt] Wes.; viderent M.

6. exscribuntur] Boot. (idem mihi in mentem venerat); et scribuntur M. Mox veniunt pro veneunt M.

C. Rebilus] Or.; Crebrius M.

De aerario] Boot.; ab aerario M.

χρέος] C; ΠΛΕΟΣ M; κλέος marg.

Troadas] Wes.; trodam M.

verum etiam] marg.; vetat iam (superse. vult etiam) M.

istas] istam M.

ad] ins. Ursin.

EP. CLVI. (Q. FR. III. 7).

1. maxime . . . et Appia] ego. Intercedit aliquid quale hoc est:—Romae et maxime extra urbem in Aemilia et Appia. alluvies] Wes.; luvies M¹; proluviis M²; eluvio Boot.

ἐκ δὲ δίκην] ECΔATHN M.

2. lucem] om. M.

esses Sami curasse] Vict.; esse san . . . legurasse M.

EP. CLVII. (FAM. VII. 16).

1. in extremo] Haec verbi addidi ad versiculum. Vid. Comm.

primas] MT; primum Crat.; 'sed Cicero saltem scripsisset primum rabiosulas illas' Wes.; cp. primorum mensium litteras, Fam. vii. 17, 1.

sat] M; at T; minime assentior Baitero et Klotzio verba rabiosulas sat fatuas poetae tribuentibus.

deinde . . . Quod] ego; deinde quod MT.

nimis] minus MT.

φιλοθέωρον] philoteorum MTH.

intectus] Andr. Schottus; iniectus MTH.

non curas] M; cum curas T.

2. oro . . . es] poetae tribui.

3. ecquid] haec quid M; hec quidem T. plane] M; plene TH.

Id . . . futurum] verba interpolatorem redolentia uncinis inclusi.

Stoici] M; fisiei T.

possint] M; possent TH.

videbo qui] Kl.; video qui M; videbunt vi T; videbo quid H.

negent] MT; negant Sch.; male; vid. Comm.

EP. CLVIII. (ATT. IV. 19).

1. timebam] tumebam M.

δέρρεις] ΔΕΡΡΙC M; vid. Comm.

cum secus erit] M; quoniam secus erit Wes.; frustra; vid. Comm.

num] ego; nam M²; nam om. M¹, fort. recte, ita ut signa interrogationis post regustandus ponatur.

Lat. ἀττ.] latinas ΤΤΙΚΙΣΜΟΣ M.

germanae . . .] ego, vestigiis Wesenbergii insistens; germane M; germanam Man. et vulg., male; vid. Comm.

†putavi] Loci huius medelam quae mihi potissimum placet in Comm. descripsi. Adicio Madvigianam loci emendationem:—disputavi . . . palam, inde

absolutum Gabinium; rempublicam in dictaturam ruere.

† dict. fruerē] M.; *fluere* Bos.; *fervere* Mommsen.; *ruere* Kl.

2. † ludum] ego; *ludum* sine obelo vulg.; *lauda* Boot.

Felicianae unciae] ego; *Selicianae unciae* C; *seleuciane provincie* M; vid. Comm.

hiberna] Ern.; *hibernam* M.

legionis] Nipperdeus; *legionem* M; *legionum* vulg.

adventu] Bos.; *adventus* M.

accedet] Crat.; *accedit* M.

tu si] F; *ut si* M.

EP. CLIX. (Q. FR. III. 8).

1. quod respondeam] Man.; *quid respondeam* M.

petebamus] *putabamus* M.

struentur] M; *reserventur* marg.

2. isti sint Nervii] *isti sunt nervi* M.

3. tua cepi] Btr.; *tua accepi* M.

4. mihi etiam] *me etiam* (superscr. 'al. metu') M.

Hirrus auctor] *Hirpus auctus* M.

Caelium Vinicianum] Man.; *Crassum Iunianum* M; *Vinianum* R.

5. Serrani Domestici] marg.; *serranido mestitii* M.

6. Guttæ] M; sed nusquam legimus *Guttam* aliquem praetorem fuisse; ergo de consulatu cogitare non potuit. Iure igitur offensioni est Bootio *Guttæ* nomen, quod *Hypsæo* cedere debere suspicatur. Sed hoc audacius. Des mihi Q. Caecilium Metellum Scipionem familiarem fuisse Q. Ciceronis, et habebimus probabilem lectionem: Q. tuo: unde oriri potuit *Guttæ*. Si quis malit Q. suo propter Pompeii cum Q. Metello Scipione adfinitatem, ego adsentior; sed haec lectio non tam prope abest a codicis scriptura. Pansemus pro *Pansa meus* exhibent H et T ad Fam. vii. 12, 1 (Ep. clxx.).

illo] Ern.; *in illo* M.

[vel quia magister]] del. Sch. Fort. locus sic constituendus est:—*stulte bis terque, vel quia munus magnificum dederat vel quia facultates non erant; non postulatus, et qui potuerat, &c.*

CLX. (Q. FR. III. 9).

1. istorum quae a te] Btr.; *istorumque ne* M.

χαῖροι] *χαῖρωι* M.

sentiunt] *sentiant* M.

2. cccciōōōō] Wes.; cccō M; Bootius, notas aliquot latere in prima syllaba verbi *comparet* suspicatus, *paret* hic reponendum esse coniecit.

inconsiderantiam] Man.; *considerantiam* M.

ut potero et tu ut] *ut potero tu et ut* marg.; *ut pretereā tu ut* M.

4. De mancipiis quod] Wes.; *de mancipiis, quod* vulg.

mihi polliceris] marg.; *nihil polliceris* M.

6. ne . . . soli] Vict.; *accipiat. quod ergo nactus. quod si* (superscr. *soli*) M.

7. caementum] I; *canem tam* M.

habere deturbarem] Wes.; *habere deturbem* M; *habeam deturbem* Lamb.

conclavia] lacunam indicavi.

nilus] *nil iis* M.

adibimus] Man.; *adhibemus* M.

8. De Felicis] *deficilis* M.

Quas enim] *duas enim* M.

in quibus . . . obsignavit] Totum hunc locum ita constituit Wes.:—*quas enim se putavit tabulas obsignare, in quibus ex III. uncis firmissimum locum tenes, eas vero—lapsus est per errorem et suum et Sicuræ servi—non obsignavit: quas noluit, eas obsignavit.* Huic sententiae magna ex parte adsentior, nisi quod *tenemus* pro *tenes* legendum censeo; et pro *ex III. uncis* (Tullius *ex quadrante* scripsisset), ego *in singulis uncis* repono. Vid. Comm.

9. † Porcia non] M; *in Porcianam* (sc. *domum*) ingeniose Wes.; vid. Comm.

EP. CLXI. (FAM. VII. 10).

1. sapere] H; *aspere* M; *sperare* T.

rideamus] M; *redeamus* TH.

te] om. MTH.

non propter] M; om. *non* T.

2. luculento] M; *lentulo* T.

qui sagis] M; *quid agis* TH.

natate . . . natandi] M; *nature . . . notandi* T.

essedarios] om. T lacunam exhibens xi litterarum capacem.

3. intermiseram] M; *inter miseriam* T. statu tuo] *statuo* MT.

4. possim pati] *possem* MTH.

nihil] *mihi* T.

aut consilio] om. T.

re iuvero] *rei vere* M; *rei iure* TH.

EP. CXLII. (FAM. I. 10).

revisas et] *revises et* M²; *revissu esset* M¹.

istinc] Graev.; *istinunc* M¹; *istinc nunc* M².
cognoscere . . . nemini] Kl.; *cognoscens neminem*.

EP. CLXIII. (FAM. XIII. 49).

‘Post hanc epistolam in M insertum est alterum exemplum epistolae quartae decimae libri secundi’ Btr.

EP. CLXIV. (FAM. XIII. 60).

[bonam]] del. Kl. coll. Fam. xv. 4, 5, confert etiam Fam. xiii. 69, 1 Btr.
2. commendare] *commendari* M.

EP. CLXV. (FAM. XIII. 73).

1. quod si Romae . . . te] Kl.; *quod si Romae te vidissem coramque* M; om. *que* Lamb.; *quod si Romae esses te vidissem* Wes.; fort. *quod si Romae esse potuisses*.
2. nisi] *nisi quod* Ern. et edd. plerique; sed nihil inserendum; vid. Comm. vituperationi] *vituperationis* M. fieri possit] *fieri posset* M. quin velis] *quid velis* M.

EP. CLXVI. (FAM. II. 1).

1. quamquam] *quam* M¹; *quod* M corr.
neglegentiae nomine] Wes.; *nomine neglegentiae* M.
in quo accus.] *iniquo* H.
cui litteras] M; *cum* T.
es . . . condemnabo] *est . . . commendabo* T.
2. affuisse] *affuisse* T.
quodque in omnibus] Hic denuo incipit H quem codicem defecisse in verbo *exarsi* Ep. cliii. § 20, supra monui.
confirmatus revertare] Wes.; *confirmatus revertere* THM²; *conformatus revertere* M¹ Btr.
nulla] H; *ulla* MT.
ni] H (quod coniecerat Btr.); *nisi* vulg.; om. MT.

EP. CLXVII. (FAM. VII. 11).

2. consuli] *consului* T.
desiderium tui] *tui cordis desiderium* H.
inania] *in amore* T.
3. praecipio] *precio* MT; *precor* H.

EP. CLXVIII. (FAM. II. 2).

a vita discederet] *vita decederet* Wes. qui *discedere*, de morte dictum, vix Ciceronis esse putat. Sed potuit in epistola expressius loquendi genus usurpare.

EP. CLXIX. (FAM. II. 3).

C (erasis post C. sex fere litteris) *Curioni*] M; ‘collata subscriptione libri primi scriptum fuisse *consuli Curioni* suspicor’ Btr; quae sententia confirmatur subscriptione quam exhibet H in Fam. ii. 4, *Cicero imperator Curioni consuli sal. dicit*.
1. cum venisses] *convenisses* M.
equidem quid sentiam] M²; *equidem sentiam* M¹; *equidem sententiam* H.
ne ad ea meditare] Vict.; *ad eam* MH.

te in meam] M²; *te aut meam* M²; *te ad meam* Or.
in eum statum] *meum statum* (m pro in ut saepe) H.
copiarum] *corporum* TH.
2. in exsp.] M²; *tui expectationem* esse Or.

EP. CLXX. (FAM. VII. 12).

1. Pansa meus] *pansemus* TH.
non placebas] *conplacebas* TH.
tu tuebare] Kl.; *intuebare* M.
Seliu] Kl.; *Zeius* M; *Zeus* H; *Zens* T; *Seius* Vict.
2. quonam] *quodam* M.
civilium] *civilium* H.
bonus] ins. Wes.
voluptate] *voluntate* H.
nemini] *memini* T.
commodam est] *et* MTH.

EP. CLXXI. (FAM. VII. 13).

1. viderere . . . arbitrare] ego; *videre* . . . *arbitrare* T; *viderere* . . . *arbitrarere* MH; vid. Comm.
alia ulla] *ulla* om. TH; *alia* potius omitamus.
accipis?] Wes.; sine nota interrogationis ceteri.
audi Testa mi] *aut id est a me* H.
2. consertum] *consenserunt* T.
et tu soles . . . ad hiberi; neque] Wes.; *Et tu soles adhiberi?* *Neque* ceteri.
quo] Beier., Wes.; *quod* MHT, vulgo.
vestris cautionibus] *nostris cautionibus* T.
iocabimur] *locabimur* H.

EP. CLXXII. (FAM. VII. 14).

1. causa] *causae* M; *cause* (= *causae*) TH.

effluo] *effluam* Lamb.; sed vid. Comm. sin aetivorum timor] *sin existimo timor* H.

2. perlibentur] *perhibentur* T.

litium] *licium* H.

EP. CLXXIII. (FAM. VII. 18).

ut] ins. Wes.

tolera militiam] *tolera malitiam* H.

quam fruct.] *tam fruct.* MHT.

cautiones] *causationes* MHT: et paullo infra *causationem*.

ignavissimo] *in novissimo* H.

[quam haec scribere] seclusit Ern.; *quam haec non scribere* vulgo; sed minime tali modo scripsisset Tullius; verba *quam haec scribere* sunt glossatoris qui parum animadvertit se non inserere debuisset.

epistolas] *epulas* T.

ne chartam] *nec artem* H.

3. villam M. Aemilii] *villa metrilii* MHT.

maximam ranunculorum se] om. H.

4. quam accepi] *quam* om. T.

innocentem] M¹; *innocenter* M².

contione] M¹; *coiuntione* M²; *conditione* HT.

EP. CLXXIV. (FAM. VII. 15).

1. Quum . . . amant] typis inclinatis scripsi, quibus indicarem verba ex poeta aliquo, me iudice, desumpta.

pungit] *pingit* T.

2. quod vero] *quam vero* MHT.

EP. CLXXV. (FAM. II. 4).

certissimum] *tritissimum* Bake; frustra; vid. Comm.

Tu huius] Or.; *In huius* M.

domesticarum domesticos] Lall.; *domesticarum* MHT; *domesticos* vulg.

utro . . . iocerne] *ut rome (romae)* M) minus deceat uti non intellegat cerne MHT.

atqui] Kays.; *atque* MHT.

quae . . . ea] ins. Wes.

2. sententiam] om. HT.

incitatum] om. T.

EP. CLXXVI. (FAM. II. 5).

abes] M. corr.; *habes* MHT.

sita est] *sita sit* MHT.

2. ac iam prope] ins. Kl.

rectene] *recte non* M; *rectene non* H.

vindicaturus] *vindicatur* T.

EP. CLXXVII. (FAM. II. 6).

1. preferri] *perferre* M.

in te essent] *interessent* HT.

verecundius] *verecundia* HT.

2. ingenui] M corr.; *ingenii* H; om. T.

dubitavi] *dubitata vi* T.

maximum maximeque] *maximumque* T.

tantam quam] corr. ex *tamquam* M; *tuam* T.

vel in remunerando] om. T.

cumulare atque illustrare] M corr.; *cumulando atque illustrare* M¹; *cumulandoque illustrare* Ern.

3. suas tantae . . . quantae] *sua stante* . . . *quanti* T; et *quanti* etiam MH.

honos] *bonos* T.

liberalitatem] *libertatem* T.

iuventutis] *iuventis* HT.

suffragiis studia] *saffragiis posita studia* T.

potentem at probatam] *potest approbatam* T.

gratiosam. Dux] *gratiosus dux* HT.

4. laborem] *rem* H.

De ipso T. Annio] *de ipso tuo animo* H; *i. anno* T.

in laude mea] *in laudem* T.

5. videre scirem] *videres rem* H.

cum ad te scriberem] *quam in te haec scriberem* MHT; unde colligit Boot. legendum esse *qua mente haec scriberem*.

EP. CLXXVIII. (FAM. XIII. 75).

2. quo deportet] *quod deportet* (per dittographiam) MH.

isti] H; *isto* M.

EP. CLXXIX. (FAM. V. 17).

sittio] Btr.; *sistio* M; *sestio* alii; vid. pro Sull. 58.

1. iacuerunt] *tacuerunt* coni. Parserus meus.

retardarunt] *etardarunt* M; *retardarent* H.

2. Sitti] M; *Sesti* vulg.

[in] tui fam.] Wes.; *in tui fam.* vulg.

3. duxi] *dixi* M.

fortissimis] *formissimis* M.
 ne vere] *neve* M; *neque* HT.
 delectet] *defectet* M.
 4. dedisse] *Lamb.*; *cepisse* MHT.
 ne refricem] *nefrifrigem* M; *ne refrigerem* H; *ne refricerem* T.
 minus] *om.* T.
 complectimur] *complectuntur* T.
 5. semperque pendemus] *om.* T.
 maxime] MHT; *maximae* Martyni-Laguna, vulg.
 animi tui] *amici tui* MHT.
 et illud] M; *sed et illud* H; *si et illud* Ern.
 deero] *dero* M; *desero* H.

EP. CLXXX. (FAM. V. 18).

FADIO] *Fabio* HT.
 1. gravius iamdiu tuli quam] *gravius tuli iamdiu tuli quam* M; *gravius tuli iamdiu quam* TH.
 nos nati] *Rostius*; *notati* M; *nati* HT, vulg.
 1. coniunctissimos] M; *iunctissimos* HT.
 cumque] *quamque* HT.
 sis] HT; *si* M.
 tuum] *ins.* Wes. auctore Ernestio.
 potentiae] *potentia* MT; *potencia* H.

EP. CLXXXI. (FAM. III. 1).

Hanc epistolam non habet T, qui deficit ad Fam. ii. 16, 4 in verbo *omnibus* (Or. p. 31, l. 35), et denuo incipit ad Fam iv. 3, 4 (Or. p. 54, l. 44).
 1. tibi narrare posset] *om.* H.
 quod iuuet] Or.; *quo divet* M.; *quod viget* (ut videtur) H.

Παλλάδα . . . Απιδά] Παλλάδα . . .
Appiada M; *pullada*. . . *appiada* H.
 nominabo] *minabo* H.
 2. a te] *ad te* H.
 cum Romam] *om.* cum H.
 3. L. Valerium] *lentulum valerium* MH.
 si non est iure cons.] *si non sit* Kays.; *sinonem* H.
 fallat, te] *te* *om.* MH.

EP. CLXXXII. (FAM. VII. 2).

1. potissimum cui] *dotissimum qui* M; *doctissimum cui* T; *doctissimum qui* H.
 plurimo] *plurimum* T; *plurimos* H.
 in eo vidisti] *in* *ins.* Wes.
 quo ne pluris] M; *quod ne pluris* T; *quo ne plures* H.
 cum coheredibus] *cum heredibus* H.
 veneat] *veniat* HT.
 de ioco] *ne ioco* H.
 2. scio] *cio* H.
 hominis sordes] *homines sordes* H.
 gloria] *gloriam* H.
 gloria . . . calamitate] *gloria potius mea quam amici calamitate* Boot. (Obs. Critt. p. 13); *gloria propria potius quam amici cal.* Pluygers. Mnemos. vol. i. p. 62.
 delectavit] *delectant* H.
 3. omnis respublica] *omnis publicas* RH; *omnes respublicas* T.
 habitura] MHT; *aditura* vulg.
 simiolus] *similiolus* H.
 animi causa me] *animi causa mei* MHT.
 invidis meis se in me] *invidiis* M; *invidisse sed in me* H; *invidis meis si in me* T.
 numquam] *numquid* H.
 qui ausi sunt] *quia iusi sunt* T.
 contra tantas] *contractantes* H.
 lecti] *leti* T.
 condemnare] *condemnate* H.
 4. celebritate] *crebritate* Wes.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

USED IN *ADNOTATIO CRITICA*.

[The *Editors* mentioned very rarely are referred to in the *Adn. Crit.* by their full names.]

corr.	= <i>correx</i> it; corr. Vict. means Victorius suggested the emended reading which appears in the text.
fort.	= <i>fortasse</i> (i. e. perhaps the right reading is 'so and so'); <i>qu.</i> indicates a less degree of probability.
om.	= <i>omisit</i> .
coni.	= <i>coniecit</i> or <i>coniectura</i> (in all its cases).
lect.	= <i>lectio</i> (in all its cases).
Comm.	= <i>Commentarium</i> (in all its cases), that is, the English foot-notes.
Adn. Crit.	= <i>Adnotatio Critica</i> (in all its cases).
del.	= <i>delevit</i> .
ins.	= <i>inseruit</i> .
M	= codex Mediceus.
M ¹	= codex M <i>a prima manu</i> .
M ²	= codex M <i>a secunda manu</i> .
marg.	= codex M <i>secundum correctionem marginalem</i> .
H	= codices Harleiani (described in Introd. to vol. I ² , pp. 74 ff., and in Pref. to vol. I ² , and in Introd. to vol. II).
T	= codex Turonensis (described in Introd. to vol. I ² , pp. 78 ff.).
C	= codex Cratandrinus.
c	= editio Cratandrina (1528).
Crat.	= Cratander.
Z	= codex Tornaesianus.
Zl	= codex Tornaesianus teste Lambino.
Zb	= codex Tornaesianus teste Bosio.
X, Y	= pseudo-codices Bosiani (commonly called respectively codex Crusellinus and Decurtatus).
A	= codex Antonianus.
F	= codex Faërninus.
R	= editio princeps Romana (Rome, 1470).
I	= editio Iensoniana (Venice, 1470).

- N = ed. Neapolitana (Naples, 1474).
 Vict. = Victorius (Venice, 1536–1571).
 Corrad. = Corradus (*Epp. ad Att.* Venice, 1544).
 Mur. = Muretus (*Variae lectiones*, Venice and Paris, 1559–86).
 Mal. = Malaspina (Venice, 1564).
 Lamb. = Lambinus (Paris, 1566; 2nd, 1584, with notes of Orsini).
 Ursin. = Orsini.
 Man. = Ed. of Manutius (Ald. 1575; Ven. 1579).
 Bos. = Simeo Bosius (*Epp. ed Att.* Limoges, 1580).
 Grut. = Gruter (Hamburg, 1618).
 Graev. = Graevius (Amsterdam, 1677).
 Gron. = Gronovius (Lyons, 1692).
 Ern. = Ernesti (Leipsic, 1737).
 Facc. = Facciolati (Padua, 1738).
 Sch. = Schütz (Halle, 1809).
 Or. = Orelli (Zurich, 1845).
 Math. = Matthiae (Leipsic, 1849).
 k = Klotz (1st ed. Teubner, Leipsic, 1858).
 Kl. = Klotz (2nd ed. Teubner, Leipsic, 1869, 1870).
 Hofm. = Hofmann, *Ausgewählte Briefe* (Berlin, 1860).
 Boot. = I. C. G. Boot (*Epp. ad Att.* Amsterdam, 1865).
 Boot, Obs. } = Boot's *Observationes Criticae ad Cic. Epp.* (Amsterdam, 1880).
 Crit. }
 Müll. = C. F. W. Müller (Progr. Landsberg, 1865).
 Btr. = Baiter & Kayser's ed. (Leipsic, 1867).
 Kays. = Kayser.
 Koch. = Koch (Einladungs Programm, May, 1868).
 Büch. = Bücheler (*Q. Cic. Reliquiae*, Teubner, Leipsic, 1868, and *Mus. Rhen.* xi.).
 Madv. = Madvig (*Adversaria Critica*, vols. i., ii., Copenhagen, 1871–73; vol. iii., 1884).
 Wes. = Wesenberg (Teubner, Leipsic, 1872, 3).
 Em. Alt. = Wesenberg's *Emendationes Alterae*, Teubner (Leipsic, 1873).
 Peerlk. = Peerlkamp.
 Pluyg. = Pluygers.

ORDER OF LETTERS.

I.

PART IV.

This Edition.	Baiter.	A. U. C.	B. C.	Year of Cicero's Life.
XC.	Att. IV. 1	697	57	49
XCI.	„ IV. 2	„	„	„
XCII.	„ IV. 3	„	„	„
XCIII.	Q. Fr. II. 1	„	„	„
XCIV.	Fam. VII. 26	„	„	„
XCV.	„ I. 1	698	56	50
XCVI.	„ I. 2	„	„	„
XCVII.	„ I. 3	„	„	„
XCVIII.	„ I. 4	„	„	„
XCIX.	„ I. 5 ^a	„	„	„
C.	Q. Fr. II. 2	„	„	„
CI.	Att. IV. 4 ^a	„	„	„
CII.	Q. Fr. II. 3	„	„	„
CIII.	Fam. I. 5 ^b	„	„	„
CIV.	„ I. 6	„	„	„
CV.	Q. Fr. II. 4	„	„	„
CVI.	„ II. 5	„	„	„
CVII.	Att. IV. 4 ^b	„	„	„
CVIII.	„ IV. 5	„	„	„
CIX.	Fam. V. 12	„	„	„
CX.	Att. IV. 6	„	„	„
CXI.	„ IV. 7	„	„	„
CXII.	„ IV. 8 ^a	„	„	„
CXIII.	Fam. V. 3	„	„	„
CXIV.	„ I. 7	„	„	„
CXV.	„ XIII. 6 ^a	„	„	„
CXVI.	„ XIII. 6 ^b	„	„	„
CXVII.	Q. Fr. II. 6	„	„	„

PART IV.—*continued.*

This Edition.	Baiter.	A. U. C.	B. C.	Year of Cicero's Life.
CXVIII.	Att. IV. 8 ^b	699	55	51
CXIX.	Fam. I. 8	"	"	"
CXX.	Q. Fr. II. 7 (9)	"	"	"
CXXI.	Att. IV. 10	"	"	"
CXXII.	" IV. 9	"	"	"
CXXIII.	Q. Fr. II. 8 (10)	"	"	"
CXXIV.	Att. IV. 11	"	"	"
CXXV.	" IV. 12	"	"	"
CXXVI.	Fam. VII. 23	"	"	"
CXXVII.	" VII. 1	"	"	"
CXXVIII.	" XIII. 74	"	"	"
CXXIX.	" XIII. 40	"	"	"
CXXX.	Att. IV. 13	"	"	"
CXXXI.	Fam. V. 8	700	54	52
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CXXXV.	Q. Fr. II. 11 (13)	"	"	"
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CXXXVII.	" VII. 7	"	"	"
CXXXVIII.	Att. IV. 14	"	"	"
CXXXIX.	Q. Fr. II. 12 (14)	"	"	"
CXL.	Fam. VII. 8	"	"	"
CXLI.	Q. Fr. II. 13 (15 ^a)	"	"	"
CXLII.	" II. 14 (15 ^b)	"	"	"
CXLIII.	Att. IV. 15	"	"	"
CXLIV.	" IV. 16	"	"	"
CXLV.	Fam. VII. 9	"	"	"
CXLVI.	" VII. 17	"	"	"
CXLVII.	Q. Fr. II. 15 (16)	"	"	"
CXLVIII.	" III. 1	"	"	"
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